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THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

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The Family in Communist China

By AMRIT LAL

> "The family now lies open to the State. It has little property to hold it together. Its ritual bond has been removed. Its head can call on a few sanctions to support him in the exercise of authority. His wife can divorce him, his children defy him. The allocation of tasks in economic life is not now in any important respect a family matter . . . the family has become an institution for producing babies and enjoying the leisure time left over from the major pursuits of everyday life."
>
> MAURICE FREEDMAN[1]

There is no philosophical or ideological foundation in Marxism for regarding family with any special esteem. Peking's thinking about the institution of family is largely governed by Engels's thesis, "The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State," propounded in 1884.[2] The family, according to Engels, evolved through various stages from promiscuity (primitive communism both in the means of production and reproduction) to private property and monogamy. The present family system in capitalist societies, according to communists, is the offshoot of egotism, individualism, and private enterprise—and also from oppression of the female by the male. Engels emphasised that individual families were no longer economic units of society; that the upbringing of children had become a social enterprise, and declared prophetically:[3]

> We are now approaching a social revolution in which the economic foundation of monogamy, as it has existed, will disappear just as surely as those of its complement prostitution. Monogamy arose from the concentration of considerable wealth in the hands of a single individual—a man—and from the need to bequeath this wealth to the children of that man and no other.

Drawing nourishment from this logic, the Chinese communists, right from the day of their conquest of mainland China in 1949, undertook the task of spreading the uninhibited version of Engels's

[1] Maurice Freedman, "The Family in China, Past and Present," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, 1961-62, p. 332.

[2] The Marxist Leninist Library, Lawrence and Wishart, Vol. XX, 1940, p. 81.

[3] *Ibid.*

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lexicon, even though they were faced with an intractable problem of conflict between the " old order " and the " new order." The average Chinese had been nurtured in the Confucian social philosophy of filial piety, and held in great esteem the institution of family. But now suddenly he was asked to sever all association with the family and replace his sentiments for the family with undivided devotion to the Communist party.

The effect on Chinese society has been, and is, convulsive. But this did not deter Peking, for once its leadership had made up its mind, it could go to any length to meet the need of the hour. The training in the Marxist traditions has given rise to the conviction that the institution of family is an obstacle to the fulfilment of " socialist dreams." The Chinese communists, therefore, do not speak highly of the institution of family *per se*. They want to re-shape the institution of family to fit an immensely new form of society. One way to achieve this end was to legislate for it. Incidently, the Marriage Law of 1950 was handy.

The marriage reforms of the early 1950s, marked though they were by great violence and social turbulances, created an enormous fund of political capital from which the party could draw heavily. The destruction of the traditional form of authority—the family—at the local level made the party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung the new authority figures for millions of people with no other place to go. The cultural revolution hastened the process by giving to the Chinese young men the ultimate experience in liberation from authority—" an experience, that to some extent led to the ' transference of effects ' to Mao-figure."[4] Very rightly, a Peking Radio broadcast said of the cultural revolution:[5]

> In building socialism and communism, we must not only completely eliminate all old systems by which man exploits man and man oppresses man, but also thoroughly eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits formed in the past several thousand years by the exploiting class.*

In the light of these preliminary remarks, a brief review of the legislative and ideological measures, in retrospect, relating to the eclipse of the institution of family, may be in order.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

In the old Chinese society, the family stood as a link between the individual and the state. It served as a basic social unit of the community. The Chinese thus inherited a tradition of great respect

[4] Irwin J. Schulman, " Mao as Prophet," *Current Developments,* Delhi, Vol. III, No. 13, 1st July 1970.

[5] Peking Radio Domestic Service broadcast, 18th July 1966.

* This is the most fundamental task in the proletarian revolution.

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for the family. Ancestor worship, a cardinal virtue, was to China what such religions as Christianity, Islam and Buddhism are to other people. Ancestors, even in death, are to be considered formidable and able to occupy the most commanding sites, " as if still to keep an eye on their descendents." Menon, free India's First Ambassador to China, estimated that between 20 and 25 per cent of the cultivable land in China (before communist occupation) was taken up by graves.[6] Besides the veneration of the ancestors, full respect and complete obedience was required towards all living elders.

Another striking feature of the traditional Chinese family was the paramount value placed on filial piety. Confucius decreed: " Filial piety and brotherly love—are they not the root of all benevolent love? " Another popular expression prescribed: " Suffer your aged parents to stay with you and your children so that there will be constant association and interchange of sentiments."

The traditional family law imposed a rigid moral code on parents and children alike. The absolute need of the child to defer completely to the authority of the parents was a cardinal principle of the institution of the family in traditional China. The ultimate crime was the expression of any form of opposition or hostility to familial authority which derived its extraordinary powers from the backing of the despotic state. This authority was the absolute monopoly of the father or the eldest brother and no diffusion of the authority was ever acknowledged. Disobedience to his order was punished by the government. On the other hand, local officials could have him beaten and imprisoned if he was unable to keep the members of his family from violating the law. To all intents and purposes, he was responsible for their deeds and misdeeds. Acting as a custodian of his kin-group, he may be considered as an autonomous leader of an autonomous unit. Even the government permitted the kin-groups to settle their internal affairs in accordance with their family codes.

The family in traditional China was considered to be the institution that gave the Chinese community its peculiar character and strength for thousands of years. It was like a miniature state and the supreme ruler of the state was either the patriarch or matriarch with a bureaucracy of sons and daughters. It comprised of a network of relations—uncles, aunts, cousins and more distant relatives. In times of adversity it was not uncommon for a single well-to-do Chinese to support not only his immediate family but also his distant relatives. Such a family functioned like a machine, in which individual members fitted as cogs and screws to run the

[6] K. P. S. Menon, " Letters from China," *Sunday Standard*, Delhi, 6th June 1969. Menon commented: " The communists, showing more sense than sentiment, are burning the dead instead of burying them."

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machine smoothly; they existed not for their own sake, but for the sake of the bigger whole.

Sex does have a place in the traditional family, but certainly by no means as a paramount obsession; it is subordinated to the ethical code regulating the relationship between the son and the parents, between brothers and sisters, and so on; so that when a conflict arose between a man's duty as a son or a brother and his love for his wife, it was always the latter that must be sacrificed.

It was under such family environments that the growth and development of the child's psychological make-up took place. He was required to conform to an extremely specific and rigid code of conduct in all of its inter-relations with other family members and to realise that these relations constituted a well-defined hierarchy in which he had a definite and more or less permanent place. A younger brother, for example, would always remain a younger brother and would have to defer permanently in some respect to his elder brother, who would never lose his superior position.

THE NEW DICTATES

In their onslaught upon the traditional family, the Chinese communists blamed the inherent conservatism inert in Confucianism —the transmitter of an all-embracing set of values and rules of behaviour as good for all times—for blocking out new ideas and modes of action and for inhibiting China's march to modernization for so long. The old order, therefore, must yield place to new. In the new order state gets precedence over family in all respects.

" The state comes before family " is the new communist slogan which represents a remarkable change in China, after several thousand years of family-oriented living. Working on the Marxist conception of regarding the family as a " potential cell of dangerous resistance," Peking's policies have been directed at transferring the loyalties of the young to organisations lying outside the family proper.

In December 1958 R. H. Shackford wrote a series of articles entitled " China Gang Empire " for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. The series began unequivocally: " Abolition of the family is an avowed, primary sociological objective of Red China's new commune system—the first serious effort in history to put a whole nation on what amounts to a prison chain-gang." One of the drawings accompanying this series showed a row of skulls on a blood-spattered wall, upon which were written (in letters of blood) " Family Destruction," " Bestiality," " Slave Labour." Shackford found nothing but unmitigated destruction of older social values was going on.

The commencement of communes in the countryside in the middle of 1958 was indeed a death-knell of the family system in China.

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Communisation or " barrack communism," as it is disparagingly called, seeked to imbue the Chinese with the ideal that nobody should ask for anything except to be a " little cog " within the revolution. From thenceforth all the household effects were to be pooled and passed on to the communes. After housing adjustments took place, all men and women were placed in separate barracks. They were occasionally sent off to work on construction sites for long periods resulting in physical separation. In the commune itself meals were eaten in the commune mess halls. The same kind of food was served to all and sundry. Individual tastes and habits in eating, wearing and living were discarded. All commune members, their families included, ate the same food, wore the same type of clothes and lived the same way of life. Children were looked after in the nurseries. The family as a social unit was treated as an anachronism in Chinese communist society.

It appears that the commune was specially created to destroy the family system and lay the cornerstone of " collectivised life." As was stated in an editorial of the Union Research Service, Hong Kong:[7]

> Socialization of housework actually means destruction of the existing family system based on individual household and private living, and represents a forward step in forcing people to live the life of ants and bees in the communal nests.

Marian Levy, the author of *Family Revolution in Modern China*, is equally specific on this point:[8]

> Two measures, the complete collectivization of land under which the individual peasant has to work exclusively on assigned agricultural or industrial jobs, and the payment of wages not to the head of the family but to the individual peasant worker, male or female, must weaken the authority of the family head . . . But these measures support a system of egalitarianism . . . They remove the cornerstone of the traditional family. Lastly, greater party control, made possible by the commune structure, allows a finer scrutiny of marriage contract and helps guarantee the free choice of partners.

In the present communist family structure reorientation, the party displaces the family as the fountain head of all sentiments. The natural predispositions of the child, as a result of this

[7] Editorial by Union Research Service, Hong Kong, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 4th October 1958.

[8] Marian J. Levy, *The Family Revolution in Modern China*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Masachusetts, 1949.

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reorientation, gets automatically diverted into love and admiration of the party:[9]

The Party is more intimate than our parents,
It brings us up to maturity;
Firmly we follow the line of the Party,
And hasten to obey its commands.

The party attitude to family ties is graphically reflected in " True Affection "—a song widely popularised around about 1959 in the Press to show the fragility of family relationships in comparison with the strength and security to be found under the paternal care of the party:[10]

In the old Society . . .
Affection between the husband and wife was not real,
For they had different thoughts though sleeping together;
Affection between mother and son was not real,
For the mother could no longer clasp her son to her bosom after his marriage;
Affection between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was not real,
For the daughter-in-law could not forgive harsh words from her mother-in-law;
Affection between mother and daughter was not real,
For the daughter was seldom satisfied even with a handsome dowry;
Affection between mother-in-law and son-in-law was not real,
Unpleasant words from the mother-in-law and her son-in-law would cease to visit her.
The song also says:
Now the Party brings us true affection.
There is sincere love everywhere.
All share in this true affection, far surpassing that of a parent,
Under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

The influence of the home is gradually declining and that of teacher rising:

The kindergarten is my home
The teacher is my mother
She teaches me so many things
I am so happy learning here
I do not need mother.[11]

Thus, the official policies which weaken the traditional family

[9] *People's Daily*, Peking, 3rd May 1959.

[10] *Wen-hui Pao*, Shanghai, 20th October 1959.

[11] *People's Daily*, 25th October 1958.

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structure make newer demands on the teachers of China. They, unlike their predecessors in the pre-communist era, are being increasingly called upon to bear heavier responsibilities as rôle models, behavioural counsellors and family case-workers. Their rôle is not confined within the four walls of the school but is projected directly into the homes of the students to interview the parents on such problems as despondency in a child, repeated disobedience, constant fatigue, persistent failure to complete homework and bourgeois sentimentality. If neglect or cruelty on the part of the parents is discovered, they are not only reprimanded by the party but also openly criticised by their own children.

The weakening of dependence on family has been accompanied by the strengthening of dependence on party by a variety of means. The new abode of the youth in Communist China is to be, instead of the old family (personal) household, the " socialist big family." Engagement in collective life is more meaningful than involvement with individual pursuits. Love, romance and sex, etc. are played down, and the innate emotions are sublimated to socialist pursuits. A writer on " new morality " in China has aptly described the situation:[12]

> The model citizen, as portrayed in the official mass media keeps his love for wife or sweetheart, family or friends, within circumscribed bounds, never letting it interfere with civic duty. Yet in contrast to this reserve in his personal private relationship, the same model citizen displays, and quite obviously is expected to display, the most unreserved kind of sentimental—even romantic—affection for the leading figures of the Party.*

In their morbid anxiety to break the traditional family structure, wherein the eldest member monopolised all authority, the communists have gone to fantastic extremes:[13]

> A tactic that has been encouraged has been the election of new heads of families who are called the " political Family Head." Hunan Radio reported in December 1968 that in some villages a struggle for seizing power in the family was being carried on. Power was to be snatched away from every head of family who followed old feudal customs and was to be seized by a family member loyal to Chairman Mao. The new head of family was called the Political Family Head. The report went on to point out that " in one peasant family of seven, a 17-year-old girl was elected Political Family Head."

[12] Paul Hollander, " Privacy—A Bastion Stormed," *Problems of Communism*, Washington, Vol. XII, No. 6, November-December 1963.

* Even to the point of veneration.

[13] China Reporting Service, Hong Kong, No. 25, 7th November 1969.

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" Revolutionary Big Family " and " All Red Families " which signify not only unconditional loyality to Chairman Mao but also constant vigilance against " feudal " emotions (such as personal loyalties, excessive concern for the welfare of children, and the desire to amass material things), are the recurring themes in the Chinese Press. An assistant manager in a commercial organisation, for example, writing in *China Youth* argued that the " revolutionary big family " is the true home of youth:[14]

> I have found that children are often inclined to distinguish between " private " and " public," always giving " private " first place. I feel this is very bad. Since our revolution serves the people, children should be made to understand that the revolutionary big family is their home, and that is most glorious to do something for the public and the collective.

Another piece in the same youth organ, *China Youth*, a few months later, cautioned:[15]

> Don't chain yourself to the small circle of your family . . . and combine your personal life with the political life, and your social activities with the cause of the labouring people. In short, although marriage, children and family problems are personal problems, they are nevertheless closely related to the interests of the State and to the long-range interests of the individual and children . . . We cannot, therefore, deal [with] them in isolation from other problems.

The concept of " All Red Families " is still a newer communist innovation. Since May 1969 it has been adopted as an official password to eliminate all problems which the institution of the family has posed for the communist regime throughout its existence. During that month a number of articles both in the *People's Daily* and the *China Pictorial* began compaigning with a barrage of virtues of the family which were said to be committed to Chairman Mao's thought.[16] In fact, the drive against family has been continuing since the day of communist control of mainland China in 1949—only objectives have shifted slightly in the practice of wrecking the family structure and re-casting it in the communist mould. However, the new " All Red Families " campaign seems to suggest that family ties and personal loyalties still remain strong. Despite persistent efforts on the part of the regime to replace them with devotion to Mao and Communist party—or at least to effect changes in the Chinese family structure, the results may not have been as effective as the decision makers in Peking desired. This, in fact,

[14] *China Youth*, Peking, 5th February 1963.

[15] *China Youth*, 30th May 1963.

[16] China Reporting Service, No. 25, 7th November 1969.

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was admitted in a radio commentary by Radio Nanchang in Kiangsi Province on 26th September 1969:[17]

> In the course of the development of this "Whole Family Red" movement, some cadres have shown their lack of appreciation of its significance. Some have argued that family affairs are not for others to meddle with, while others have advocated a hands-off attitude. The Commune Revolutionary Committee therefore ran study classes to help people realise that, despite the success of peasants in conducting creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought, the influence of old systems and old ideas is still rooted in their minds and the committee emphasised that therefore revolutionization of the households is inevitable.

PARENTAL LOVE—A REACTIONARY TOXIN

Article 13 of the Marriage Law, 1950, of Communist China legislated on behalf of parents and children on reciprocal basis by declaring very candidly:

> Parents have the duty to rear and educate their children, the children have the duty to support and to assist their parents. Neither the parents nor children shall maltreat or desert one another.
>
> The foregoing provision also applies to foster-parents. Infanticide by drowning and similar criminal acts are strictly prohibited.

The actual working of the law, however, convinced the communists that the principle of reciprocity—good as it may be in the statute book—would not fit into their "great" communist experiment of family revolution in which youth would be the decisive element. It is indulging in platitude to point out that "the youth has the future." But Lenin's further truism on this theme, that "he who holds the youth holds the future," very lucidly expresses the special importance of the rôle of youth to the communists. This realisation prompted Mao to make the famous statement flattering the youths of communist China in these words:[18]

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Peking Daily*, 4th March 1963. The remark is reported to have been made by Mao at a meeting of Chinese students in Moscow on 17th November 1957. In the same vein, Chiang Ching, Mao's fourth wife, is reported by the China Reporting Service, No. 9, 3rd September 1968, to have told a student rally at Peking University: "You are leading our revolution forward. We, the older generation, are leaving, and as we go, we give to you our revolutionary traditions. Chairman Mao is leaving China to you. You will govern China. The school of Cultural Revolution is a great school. The state will belong to you."

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The world is yours and also ours, but eventually it belongs to you. You young people are full of youthful vigour and in a period of ascendency, as the Sun is at 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning. Our hope is pinned on you.

But " the minds of young cadres," said the *People's Daily*, " are often like peas—they roll both ways. We must make them roll only on the side of the poor and lower middle peasants, but not to the bourgeois side."[19] The parents may still be germinating old reactionary ideas of the past and are unschooled in the principles of Marxism. Their entire thinking mechanism has to be reconditioned in the new mould of communism in order to impart a sound class-education to their children. The party has also become aware that to influence children during their most impressionable and malleable years it must use the very family structure it is trying to crack. Parental love, a relic of the bourgeois society, could possibly be made use of to motivate parents to turn their children into " good communists." Peking's mass media are replete with lessons on parenthood " communist style." *Women of China*, a popular women's magazine, offers its readership a constructive example to emulate:[20]

> She often says to her sons and daughters-in-law: " You must listen to the Party and do what it tells you to do." Whenever they meet at home after returning from work, they talk about production and challenge one another to do better. They think of nothing else. The old woman is pleased to see all this. There was a time when, during her leisure, she collected forty cartloads of high quality manure and delivered all of it to the production team.

Another example: Party writer Ko Te cites two model fathers who " saw clearly the beginning of (their) children's rebellion against the working class " through their shooting wild ducks to sell, and from their expressed desire to be engineers who would not have to do collective labour.[21]

Excessive attachment to one's family is regarded by the communists as renegade behaviour. The party propaganda line makes no secret about it. It says that for instance, a man called Lie Chien-hua, indulging in this kind of selfish act, cried out: " Is there any other place in the world which is warmer than the family?" He contended that " it is the family that gives you love and brings you up . . . that gives you everything . . ." He believed that the family can bring people " infinite joy." This is really a big lie.[22]

[19] *People's Daily*, 10th January 1970.

[20] Editorial in *Chinese Women*, Peking, 1st March 1962.

[21] *People's Daily*, 13th November 1964.

[22] *China Youth*, No. 14, July 1960.

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But, as things stand at present, despite repeated campaigning, excessive concern for one's children lingered on and was apparently demonstrated by some Nanking parents in September 1968 when a group of students were sent to spend the remainder of their lives in the countryside. Both parents and students probably resented the move, for Nanking's *New Anhwei Daily* commented on this deplorable state of bourgeoisism on 11th September:

> There are parents who have a wrong idea and idiotic misconceptions. " Having studied for ten years, our children go to the village to grab hoes. Have they any future?" Such worries are remnants of rotten thoughts of the feudal exploiting class who expect their children to become dragons.

Three months later, on 22nd December 1968, the *People's Daily* quoted parents who lamented: " Our children never left us and we shall be worried when they are in the villages." Although such sentiments may sound like real concern and love for their children, the paper claimed the parents are actually inducing their offsprings " to go in a direction opposite to the revolution of Chairman Mao."[23]

The drive to widen the thaw in parent-child relationship was in full swing sometime in the month of January 1969 when the bulk of official publicity was trained to wean the parents from the " harmful " notions of " love for one's children " which interfered with Chairman Mao's plans for sending Chinese youth to the countryside for political re-education and " hard steeling " by the peasants.

The *People's Daily* raised the curtain of the new campaign to " re-define parental love " in December 1968 by raising the question as to what sort of love parents should show towards their children:[24]

> Is it to keep them in the greenhouse and turn them into sprouts of revisionism not being able to work or to tell the difference between various grains? Or to let them go to the vast and great countryside to lead a life of manual labour, undergo hard steeling, receive re-education from poor and lower middle peasants and become successors to the cause of proletarian revolution? We feel that the first way of thinking does not represent true love for one's children; instead it will do them harm.

The Chekiang Provincial Radio added in a broadcast on 28th December 1968:[25]

> Keeping the youngsters at home is an idea which proceeds

[23] China Reporting Service, No. 25, 7th November 1969.

[24] China Reporting Service, 22nd January 1969.

[25] *Ibid.*

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from one's self-interest in keeping his youngsters with him, finding jobs for them in the city, and letting them lead a comfortable life. The idea which outwardly represents some kind of love, will actually ruin the youngsters and lead them into the path of counter-revolutionary revisionism advocated by Liu Shao-Ch'i. This path should not be taken.

THE NEW FRAMEWORK OF FILIAL PIETY

Under the Chinese breed of communism the only acceptable mode of behaviour is unflinching loyalty to the Communist party, complete devotion to Mao Tse-tung as the fountainhead of all authority and whole-hearted service to the state. No family tie or friendship may intervene, as Mao himself had put forth, " there is no room for human feeling above the class distinction," and children are therefore encouraged to denounce their parents and friends if they happen to stand in the way of socialist ideals.

On its record in the past, there are countless examples whereby sons were deliberately incited against their fathers by branding Confucian filial piety as the " source of all evils." This aspect of the new code of communist ethics is contained in reply to a letter written to the editor of *China Youth* in early 1963:[26]

> So-called filial piety can be traced to society under the system of private ownership; its influence originally affected both the clan system and the family. In the feudal society, filial piety was held as the most basic moral yardstick. Parents could demand from their children whatever they liked and tolerated no objection whether they were right or wrong . . . Such feudal way of thinking has long been discredited by us . . . In our Socialist society . . . we must strongly object to the imposition of unreasonable demands. Revolutionary youths should never yield ground to the old ideas and should always be bold in asserting their rights.

Another article under the self-explanatory title, " How to Pass the Family Barrier " in *China Youth News* mentioned a letter from a young girl whose mother wanted her to marry a certain young man and find a job in Nanking in preference to volunteer for work in the countryside. The editor advised:[27]

> You can convince your mother and brother only if you have an unalterable will . . . One road leads to the countryside in response to the Party's call . . . Another road is the road your mother wants you to travel . . . The family barrier is essentially a reflection of the class struggle.

[26] *China Youth*, 12th February 1963.

[27] *China Youth*, 25th July 1964.

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The editorial advice was in line with an article entitled " Parenta Education of Children on Morality " in Shanghai's *Wen Hui Pao* which stated in May 1964:[28]

> Revolutionary parents and their children are fellow comrades who have the same aspirations and a relationship on an equal footing . . . Therefore, there is no question as to " who should obey whom . . . Today, in the new society . . . if a son thinks his parents are wrong, he should refuse to follow."

At the same time, children are encouraged to denounce their " reactionary parents " and their condemnation has always been given wide publicity. Professor Ch'u's example is a case-study. Charged with " uncommunist behaviour," his son, Ch'u Wang-ying, deplored his father's action in an " open letter " to the *Kwang Ming Daily*:[29]

> Ch'u An-p'ing has been severely criticised by the people for his anti-socialist statements. As a member of the socialist society I resolutely join with the people in whole-heartedly repudiating his anti-Party, anti-socialist fallacies and his slander of the People's leader. I should like to give a few words of advice to Mr Ch'u An-p'ing; " I hope you will correct your mistakes before it is too late. You must listen to the people, investigate the sources of your anti-socialist thought, and make a thorough and frank statement of your problems, otherwise you will be disowned by the people."

Such denunciations include examples ranging from ordinary peasant families to those once high-up people, but who are now fallen from that pedestal. The daughter of the purged Marshal Ho Lung denounced her father as a " despicable swine " and boasted that she was closer to Chairman Mao than to her own parents;[30] the daughter of a peasant, Liu Hsing-pi, exposed the " anti-social " action of her father for illegally hoarding eight pecks of unhusked rice. The local youth league hailed the daughter's action as a " fine action."[31]

Nevertheless, family feelings have sometimes proved stronger than devotion to the party. Though such demonstrations of familial attachments are rare, the continuance of such sentiments cannot be ruled out altogether. Many young peasants have been known, despite the risk of the party's wrath, to uphold and defend their parents under accusations. Again, the party's plan that the devotion to the regime should replace family loyalties has fallen

[28] *Wen-hui Pao*, 14th May 1964.

[29] *Kuang Ming Daily*, Peking, 26th June 1957.

[30] China Reporting Service, No. 9, 29th April 1969.

[31] *China Youth*, 12th September 1957.

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short of success. For filling a government form asking what he would prefer for a work assignment, a university graduate used this little poem:[32]

Chekiang (province) is where my parents are
I love my parents
I love my native place
I vow to fight on until I reach Chekiang
I shall never feel satisfied until I get to Chekiang.

Nevertheless, despite occasional notes of dissent, the attitude towards Mao Tse-tung, in general, is that of adoration. A number of anecdotes of how family-study groups should conduct their affairs have been widely publicised. The following is, for instance, the example of a model meeting in the household of a certain Chang family in Liaoning Province:[33]

> After supper the family-study class started. The 13 members of the family stood respectfully in front of Chairman Mao's portrait to wish him a long, long life.
>
> Grandfather was the first to speak. Looking at Chairman Mao's portrait he said with emotion: "Chairman Mao. Our family suffered for generations. It is you who have led us on the brilliant socialist road. Every generation must follow you closely and unswervingly, though the seas dry up and rocks crumble." At this point he turned around to face the family and said: "Everyone in our family must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and stand for the public interest. Chairman Mao teaches us to be utterly devoted to others without any thought of self and to be a person useful to the people. Even though I am 67, I still have some strength and must use it for the public interest."
>
> The room was filled with cheers of : "Everything for the public interest. Be forever loyal to Chairman Mao."

THE BALANCE SHEET OF RESULTS

This is not a place to draw a complete balance sheet of the results so far achieved by family reforms. It is obvious, however, that while the achievement is substantial, it has lagged far behind initial expectations.

The family is allowed to exist, but its traditional rôle has been drastically curtailed; the regime is hard on those who show an excessive concern for familial sentiments, and demands that family ties must serve politics. At the same time, the Communist party has taken various concrete measures to limit both the traditional

[32] *China Youth*, No. 24, December 1962.

[33] China Reporting Service 6th May 1969.

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autonomy in certain areas and its child-rearing practices. Pearl Buck, in her foreward to *Children of China*, laments:[34]

> In present-day China much is changed and the family no longer has the place that it once had. The State, as remote and impersonal as deity, has taken its place. Nurseries and teachers replace the parents, grandparents and elder relatives. The child neither gives nor receives individual love, his concern only competitive efforts among his peers.

In this way, the Communist regime envisages a reduction of the family to an "empty shell" by draining away all the authority and practical significance it once possessed. To effect this metamorphosis of the new "China Man," Peking leaders are using every tool at hand, particularly the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung" which is "the sun, the light-house, food, arms and compass of the Chinese people."[35]

Yet it must be remembered that the moratorium imposed on China's family institution has failed to spawn a new generation of dedicated "Communist Man." China is an ancient country which carries a burden of her past from the lumber room of antiquity, customs, situations, peculiarities, religious practices, and popular mythologies, which for centuries played a central rôle in the lives of most Chinese. It would be exceedingly unrealistic to presume that these traditional practices have disappeared with just one blast of communism, or that they fail to exercise influence on the style of Chinese politics, polity, and on the way in which the Chinese people —the Peking leaders included—perceive the social phenomenon and political world.

But this is not to deny that the function of the Chinese family has changed. According to the party's own admission, the family is no longer a unit of production, nor a unit of consumption. But[36]

> under the system of collective economy, the family has become mainly a unit of life in which husband and wife share their married life .... Inside the communes, all working members of the family taking part in the commune's collective labour with equal status and each receiving his or her due share in social distribution .... This is a change which shakes the feudal patriarchal system to its foundations.

Ironically, what success the communists claim to have achieved in this respect has been brought about by economic forces and democratic means (as in India) rather than by the coercive legislative measures (The Marriage Law of 1950) and mass regimentation of

[34] Margaret Wyle, *Children of China*, Dragonfly, Hong Kong, 1962.

[35] *People's Daily*, 8th January 1964.

[36] *Peking Review*, No. 11, 13th March 1964.

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human beings into communes. As things stand, similar changes had already been taking place in the family before the communists came into power. The communists thus made full use of the in-built momentum. Maurice Freedman, an English anthropologist, sums up the matter:[37]

> It would appear that the form taken by the family in the recent years is essentially the same as that which we have seen to have characterised the great part of the Chinese population before any of the modern trend began . . . . The solution produced by the communists is in reality an old one, and in arriving at it the communists were continuing a process of change which had started many years earlier at the higher levels of society. In fact, it could be argued that just as the communists worked on peasants' hunger for land to bind the mass of the people to the land in the early years of land reforms, so they commanded the allegiance of many people by playing on the stresses inherent in the complex family organisation. The resentment of the wife and the son, and the strains between the sexes, and the generation, were material in which politics could work to create opinion favourable to its general aims.

[37] Maurice Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

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An Empirical Consideration of Differences Between the Bantu and the European

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

From time to time I have drawn attention to marked differences between the Negroid and the Caucasoid races. In particular this was dealt with as extensively as the facts at our disposal will permit in the paper entitled " Practical Considerations Which are Fundamental in Bantu Affairs in Rhodesia and for an Understanding of Negroid-Caucasoid Problems Generally," which was published in this journal, Vol. X, No. 2, October-December 1969.

In the light of those facts in seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that there are marked differences in evolution, physical, mental, emotional and spiritual qualities between these two major stocks of mankind. The views of Professor Coon as to the time lag between that of the Negroid in comparison with the light-skinned stocks (Caucasoid and Mongoloid) is consistent with this evidence. The pace has been set by the latter two stocks in the direction of the evolution of technology, and it is in this field where the Negroids as a whole lag behind. Since all of what we call " civilization " is based on technological societies, from the beginning of time, it explains why out of Negroid Africa have never come civilizations comparable with those of the white Berber and Atlantic peoples of Northern Africa, or the Semito-Hamitic of the north-east.

I have associated this difference between the Caucasoid and Mongoloid (an offshoot of which is the Amerindian) on the one hand, and the Negroid on the other, with the difference in the frontal part of the brain (the frontal lobes), situated at the forward part of the temple, where, it seems fairly evident, the mechanism of the brain which particularly controls foresight, planning, three-dimensional thinking, and the anxieties and drives to what, in the end, is technology, are located. The lesser development of the Negroids in this region is consistent with what we find to be the character and temperament of these races, including the Bantu peoples.

There is significant anatomical evidence, even if not as complete as one would like to see it, to support this view (as we have shown in the paper to which I have referred), there is less for the temporal lobes, which are located towards the back of the two hemispheres of the brain, Nevertheless, the temporal and parietal parts of the brain appear to have anatomical differences. Professor Cornelius J. Connolly (*External Morphology of the Primate Brain*, 1950) says that the parietal lobe (which is just above the temporal) and the

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temporal pole are relatively more developed in the Negroids. This seems to be pointing in the direction of a greater development as being likely in the temporal lobes. This is what one would expect inferentially, since the temporal lobes are concerned with *hearing*, smell, *speech*, and balance, qualities in which Negroids excel, as we shall proceed to show. If such differences exist, which, as I have said, inferentially one can reasonably postulate (quite apart from any direct anatomical evidence) it will be in favour of a greater development in the Negroids than in the Caucasoids, despite the evidence which seems to show that the former have a larger brain.

In this paper, it is my intention to restrict myself to that Negroid amalgam which is called the Bantu. For, while I know most of the principal stocks of Africa, having been in nearly every country of Africa, some of them many times, it is the peoples of Southern Central Africa and Southern Africa that I know best.

Furthermore, because any discussion of racial differences arouses a blinding, emotional, irrational, reaction from so many people, I wish to draw my comparisons and empirical evidence from the works of the most literate, and, I would say, learned Bantu of our times, or all time, namely Vusamazulu C. Mutwa (*Indaba, My Children* and *Africa Is My Witness.*)

As the Bantu have an infusion of Hottentot, Bushman, Cushitic and Caucasoid elements, they are not entirely typical of the truer Negroid stock (as in the Congo region). Nevertheless, they are Negroid, and so while they may differ somewhat from the purer Negroid peoples, the comparisons will be valid, subject to these limitations.

This discussion is not solely an academic exercise in evaluating racial differences, but it has its practical application, as will become apparent as we proceed.

Taking as our two fixed points, the difference in the frontal lobes (and the aptitudes to which they give rise) and what I infer is likely to be a difference in the temporal lobes (and the aptitudes to which they give rise), we can summarise the values and abilities of the European and the Bantu in general terms as follows.

The European has the restless dynamism to create technological processes, to build them into a society which drives forward towards urban-living and industrialisation, and these are marked by an individualism and a personal acquisitiveness. In the Negroids this is much less marked, and to this the Bantu is no exception.

In order to erradicate a *non sequitur* which always arises at this stage, whereby it can be pointed out in Natal there is a Bantu millionaire, and some Bantu are good mechanics, while there are completely thriftless, shiftless, and spendthrift Europeans of low technical ability, it must be made clear that we are dealing with averages where statistics are available (as in the comparison of the I.Q. tests), or generalisations to which there must always be excep-

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tions, when dealing with the matter empirically. As a consequence there is an " overlap " so that some Europeans are below the average of the Negroids in these qualities, while some Negroids are above, when discussing the European average. These exceptions do not destroy the rule, but prove it.

When we come to deal with qualities in which the Bantu (and probably all Negroids to some degree or another) excel the same problem of overlap exists. As a consequence, some Caucasoids may well rise above the Negroid average, while others fall below.

Passing, therefore, to the qualities which it seems to me are to be associated with the temporal lobes, in which qualities the Negroids excel, it would seem that we can say that their minds are very highly developed in matters which are of an auditory nature, involving language, rhythm, and in that which, I would add, have marked psychic qualities.

Given these differences it follows that the Bantu ought to have (as we have indicated in the paper to which I have drawn attention) a vastly rich group of languages, with an organisation of society in which rhetoric is marked, where individual personal ambitions and acquisitiveness is not unduly noticeable (leading to a marked degree of communal life, but not necessarily prone to communism), one in which there is not a strong desire to excel in engineering and planning, and one which values leisure much more than the restless, acquisitive, often grossly selfish, European social order.

In the United States of America the Negro question is associated in the towns with a considerable incidence of crime. In Southern Africa the urbanised Bantu is not so violently dispossessed of his cultural background. He still speaks his own language, and knows whence he comes, and, indeed, who is his chief in the homeland of his nation. To that degree he is not de-cultured, although he has been partially acculturated to the European way of life, and is dependent upon the White man for his livelihood and all the services he enjoys. Nevertheless, while not on the American scale, a higher than normal incidence of crime is a feature of the Bantu townships.

This I attribute to the divorcing of the Bantu from the way of life for which he has developed, and in which he feels secure, and has a place.

At this stage I will be attacked from two quarters, firstly the so-called " liberal," and secondly by the industrialist. The former will accuse me of trying to keep the Bantu down, depriving him of the benefits of the European way of life; while the latter, using the same arguments, will do so because he wants the cheap manual labour which the Bantu provides. Any perusal of documents, papers, and factual articles from financial journals, financial editors of newspapers, and from the circulars of the mining houses and stockbrokers of South Africa, will reveal a constant attack upon the policy of the South African Government of separate development, or

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self-determinism, because it is denying them this pool of cheap labour.

I do not wish in this paper to go into this aspect of the subject in depth, and the solutions which can be found, without the exploitation of the Bantu. I have only mentioned it here to make the point that there are enormous vested interests to force the Bantu into a European society. The so-called " Liberal " (not to be confused with the true liberal) suffers from an arrogant " spiritual " imperialism whereby he must turn everyone who is different from himself into a Black " Englishman," " American," or " Dutchman," while finance and industry are blatantly interested in their own gains and so they pursue the same policy, using the same apparently liberal and humane arguments.

It is at this point that I propose to rely upon Vusamazulu Mutwa, to show that what I have been propounding has the support of a highly intelligent and enlightened Bantu.

Vusamazulu Mutwa is descended from a long line of Zulu witchdoctors, but his immediate ancestry is a cross between Bantu and Bushman, as a consequence he refers to himself as illegitimate. He was educated at a Roman Catholic school. Later, he abandoned Christianity and relapsed into the beliefs of Bantu religion, rightly or wrongly, believing that the Christian faith was not suitable for the Bantu. His fiancée was, according to his statement, one of those killed at Sharpeville. Therefore, by no stretch of the imagination can he be considered some kind of lackey of the White man.

His books are full of strictures against the Europeans and particularly the British rather than the Afrikaner. The reason for this being that while the latter was more severe in his treatment of the Bantu, he was not as wounding as the British with their aloofness and refusal to associate with him. He says that the Bantu, under their own native authorities, and later, were conditioned to severe treatment. This is something they can endure, but not the patronising distant attitude of the English-speaking peoples.

This brings us to one of the marked differences to which I have referred and attempted to define elsewhere. I have remarked upon the complexity of the Bantu languages, far beyond that of the Aryan or Semitic tongues of the White races. As a consequence, these Bantu tongues allow for much greater exactness for expressing matters within their range of knowledge. Associated, therefore, with this superior faculty of the Negroids over the Caucasoids is the fact that the Bantu have a ceremoniousness in greeting and address which is more comparable with what one would expect from some of the Mongoloid languages (such as Chinese) than the European.

It is here that Mutwa compares unfavourably the English-speaking people in South Africa with the Afrikaner. The unanswered greeting, the stony stare, even in times of the British officers in

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South Africa, the failure to acknowledge salutes, were more wounding to the Bantu than the *sjambok* of the Afrikaner farmer over his employees.[1]

Be all this as it may, it is only recited here to show that Mutwa is no Europeanised Bantu, and not a man infatuated with currying favour with the European in South Africa. As a consequence his evidence is highly valuable for any understanding of the differences of mental aptitudes of the European compared with that of the Bantu.

The first thing that Mutwa emphasizes is that while the Bantu expects to be treated as an equal, this does not mean that he aspires to assimilation, intermarriage with the European, or even dining with him:[2] " The Bantu could never be induced to change his outlook, peace of mind, most of his inborn nature and many of his habits. He wishes, and still wishes, to maintain his identity of race and even as a member of a particular tribe."

Therefore, he rejects racial assimilation. Because of this he also rejects cultural assimilation as bad for the Bantu. It is here that we see the distinction which exists between stocks evolved on a technological basis and the Negroid lacking the drive to such an end, while possessing tendencies based on the communalism of complex languages, and ceremoniousness of manners and customs which are to be associated with the exercise of those functions which are derived from different inborn aptitudes.

Mutwa emphasises these differences when he says:[3]

> It should be realised that by creating townships around the cities the White man did the Bantu people a great deal of harm both spiritually and bodily. It is the townships which are responsible for the decline in morals and in health among my people. The Black man, as a human being, is totally unsuited for life in these vast communities. The Bantu lives best and feels most secure in small, compact villages where everyone knows everyone else and where neighbours gather under the tree and settle whatever differences they have peacefully. Such

[1] Vusamzulu Mutwa, *Africa Is My Witness*, Blue Crane Books, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 336, writes: " Behind the fact that the White race is by far the most hated race in Africa lies the persistent failure to respond to the greetings by the Bantu. The White—and particularly the English [presumably he means English-speaking]—generally refuse to greet anybody other than a personal friend or an old acquaintance. This has also happened frequently in the Force Publique of the erstwhile Congo . . . Englishmen and Germans are the worst offenders . . . Afrikaners are less inclined to be offenders, and I know for a fact that even our arch-enemies, the Arabs, and the Chinese and Indians, never fail to respond civilly to out greetings; these are the races that will step in where the Europeans left off in Africa."

[2] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

[3] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

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new villages should be built on the principle of tribal clan-communities and would have a properly appointed *induna* and a council of the oldest citizens to administer them, assisted by young clerks.

In this we see that Mutwa considers that the type of industrialised or technological civilization is not inborn in the Bantu—and the ultimate solution of all difficulties is not the executive order but the *indaba*, discussion, under the tree, until by process of rhetoric and argument peaceful settlements are found.

He also draws attention to the fact that while the great Bantu townships around places such as Johannesburg are hot-beds of crime, this is not so in the George Goch Native Township, which is organised on this small village community basis, despite its nearness to Johannesburg:[4]

> There is friendliness there too because everyone knows everyone else, and when criminals from other townships arrive to cause trouble there the citizens deal with them.

He says of the large urbanised townships:[5]

> I challenge anyone who disputes my word to tell me just how many scores of weekend murders committed in the townships around Johannesburg are ever solved. I say very few of them are. Whole families have been butchered while onlookers watched helplessly . . . . This would not happen in a small village . . . . People live in fear in the great townships; they live in fear of their lives day and night.

In the United States of America, although the Negro has been de-tribalised and has lost the cohesiveness of his culture, we find the same phenomena. In the Deep South, in his small communities, the Negro has no real crime problem. However, when the Negro moves into the big cities of the North the crime problem becomes acute. We suggest that if we faced the same problem honestly in Britain, the same trends would be observed.

The Negroid races have a much lessened aptitude for making a success of industrialised urbanised society than those races which created such conditions.

A difference which we would associate with the non-technological part of the brain (which technological state we attribute to the frontal lobes) and which we would attribute probably to the same phenomena associated with the temporal lobes, is the expression given to religious worship. This is seen in Bantu and Negroid religions generally in Africa, its effect on Negro Christianity, and is markedly observable in the American Negroes' manifestation of

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

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religion, with the "spirituals," dancing, drumming and all else.

This outburst of emotive expression and loquaciousness is typical of Bantu religion, as distinct from the formalised, philosophical and theological concepts of European Christianity.

Mutwa has summed up the Bantu attitude as follows:

> When the Bantu feel that their prayers have been granted . . . they want to come dancing before God, clapping hands and booming drums, leaping, twisting and turning—no solemn clasping of hands and closing of eyes, with a barely audible and completely emotionless "I thank thee, Father, for all thy goodness . . ."
>
> A typical Bantu prayer would be more like the following: "Oh Great God, Oh High Chief of the skies and earth, of all that I can see and cannot see, Father of all that I know and do not know, I pray to You, and You have heard my prayer. The White man granted me a rise in wages, Oh Great God of all my ancestors. He raised my wages to five pounds a week—see, here it is, here I have got it in my hands, look at it! Oh God see the gratitude in my heart! I can now pay the superintendent the rent I owe him, and when I pay him, I shall thank You again, dear Lord."

Without wishing to go deeply into the matter, it is sufficient to say that all the Negroid races (even the de-tribalised American Negroes) have an intense psychic sense. As a consequence, besides a belief in God, and the gods, they have a realisation of spiritual forces which the average European cannot comprehend, as a consequence of which the Ancestors have to be consulted at every stage in the history of a man, of his clan, or tribe. This is, again, something quite different from that of the type of mind which is technological and materialistic.

Furthermore, with the Caucasoids, because of their analytical attitudes, religious and philosophical concepts became divisive, whereas, among the Bantu no such mental attitudes are involved, so Mutwa[6] can say: "To the Bantu, religion means solidarity."

Mutwa also draws attention to the fact that the Bantu cannot understand European music, especially that produced by the violin. He points out, that at the same time White people cannot appreciate Bantu tribal singing. He concludes:[7]

> The fact that no two races think alike be they black, white, brown or red—that they have completely dissimilar mind patterns—cannot be sufficiently stressed. This can be demon-

[6] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[7] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

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strated in countless different ways, ranging from crude weapons and primitive architecture to feats of engineering skill.

Mutwa sums up the attitudes of these two racial stocks, White and Black, when he says:[8]

> I do not wish to live the sort of life that the White man leads—a life of tension, fear and ceaseless worry; a life of competition and rivalry—a life of selfish ambition and of " doing unto others before they do unto you." Yes, the White man can keep his way of life—of giving with the one hand and taking doubly back with the other; of saying one thing when he means another —the kind of life where success is conditional upon stripping oneself of all human feelings, moral standards, yes, even one's conscience to sell body and soul to the spirit of money. I do not wish to have ulcers in my belly, the White man can keep his coronary and cerebral thromboses. The White man can keep his way of life with my fullest compliments. But he must never ask me to share it with him.

Perhaps this, and much else he says, may be unduly harsh upon the European, but he touches the core of the matter. The stress diseases are not naturally Negro complaints. As I have said elsewhere I attribute this to the fact that the Europeans' dynamic technological world is due to the frontal lobe development. This way of life the Bantu (and all Negroes) tend to reject, as their ways are based upon other mental drives. That these are not primarily based upon social conditioning and environment is clear, as they are typical of tribal Bantu, as well as of English-speaking orientated American Negroes reared in the thrusting technical civilization of America.

I am quite prepared to be proved wrong as to the location of the drives or lack of them, or the predispositions, in the anatomy of the brain, which distinguish these two great stocks—Black and White. But that the differences are mainly cerebral is evident from any deep study of the subject not only in its current aspects, but in any synthesis of them with those of the past, over a wide range of discipline.

Therefore, I have no hesitation in believing that Vusamazulu Mutwa and I are right in stating that the differences in mental, emotional and religious feelings are inborn and inherent to these two stocks. As a result there is a difference of outlook, feeling and desires. What is good for one is not necessarily good for the other. It seems to me that these facts are self-evident, and those that seek to deny them, and postulate the Pavlovian concept of conditioning by education or environment, must now prove their case, and prove it up to the hilt, as every *a priori* assumption is against such views.

[8] Vusamazulu Mutwa, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

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Until that is done it seems to me that we have to locate one great difference as due to the different character of the brain, and in particular in respect of the frontal lobes, on the information we have at present, and on which I wrote in my paper " Practical Considerations . . . ." Whether we can locate some of the marked characteristics in the linguistic field, and the well-developed powers of expression, of the Negroids, to a greater average development of the temporal lobes, remains to be seen. But somewhere, in the brain, must be the seat of this marked difference between White and Black. It is my *a priori* assumption that the temporal lobes are involved in all this, just as such assumptions, supported, by what anatomical evidence that exists, points to the frontal lobes as the seat of the Caucasoid and Mongoloid development in the technological and dynamic fields.

In support of my empirical conclusion that the temporal lobes are much more developed in the Negroids than in the other major stocks (since speech and hearing are located in those lobes) are the facts which arise from a consideration of musical and linguistic ability, as noted by Arthur S. Boughey.[9]

It would seem that speaking in general terms Negroid people, and those having Negroid genes, have more musical scales than have the Caucasoids and Mongoloids. The Caucasoids, for instance, have a scale of eight notes. Many Caucasoids are tone deaf, or sufficiently so, that they find it difficult to detect changes of pitch up to half a tone away from the note, and only when the difference is greater do they become conscious of being off the note. While Caucasoid singers can rise to high proficiency musically, it is normally only after arduous training, even although they undoubtedly have an inborn, or genetic, musical ability.

Furthermore, the fact that the Caucasoid languages are not tonal may also be affected by this same region of the brain, whereas a vast range of Negroid languages are.

Closely related to these aptitudes must be the readiness, or lack of it, to learn languages. As Boughey points out it is no uncommon thing for Bantu and other Negroids to have to learn five languages and use them with facility. Furthermore, among these will be one or more European languages, the very structure of which is so different both in its musical notation and grammatical form from their own native tongues.

In the case of Europeans, where through belonging to smaller national or linguistic groups it is necessary to learn several languages, the number is usually restricted to three or four at the most, as in such a case as the Swiss, where French, German, Italian and Romansch are spoken in the one country.

[9] Arthur S. Boughey, *Man and the Environment*: *An Introduction to Human Ecology and Evolution*, Macmillan Company and Collier-Macmillan Ltd., New York and London, 1971, p. 211.

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Even so all these languages are of the one Indo-European group, and as in the Swiss case I have just quoted, three of the languages belong to the Latin group. In the case of the Scandinavians all the languages are Teutonic, and where they learn German or English, or both, in addition to whatever Scandinavian language or languages they may possess, all of them are closely related tongues.

It seems hard, therefore, to escape the conclusion that since there is this marked difference between the Negroids and the Caucasoids, not to speak of the Mongoloids, and since speech, rhythm and tone, must be associated with the temporal lobes directly or indirectly, that there is also a difference in those lobes in favour of the Negroid races.

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Plasticity of Neural Maturation: A Review*

By DONALD A. SWAN

The effect of experience and other environmental factors upon brain anatomy and brain chemistry has been the subject of considerable experimental work in recent years.[1] For the development of the brain in man and in many animal populations " includes a long postnatal period during which the emergence of order in the still growing and differentiating central nervous system depends not only on the forces of development, but also upon an interaction between developmental forces on the one hand and the effects of behaviour and learning on the other." During this developmental period, which in man extends over nine years, brain development " exhibits a special kind of functional plasticity and a special potency for the long-term shaping of brain organization and behaviour that is no longer apparent with the learning process alone after growth and maturation are finally completed."

The mechanisms underlying this extra functional plasticity of the still-developing brain are largely unknown, but are apparently related to " basic developmental events such as neuron differentiation, growth of neuron processes, selective membrane adhesion, protein synthesis, etc.," and also to the " unknown chemical and cellular mechanisms at the basis of learning, memory, imprinting and the like." In this article on " Plasticity of Neural Maturation," Dr R. W. Sperry explores the following questions:

> To what extent can the preprogrammed processes of cerebral development be modified by function? Exactly how plastic is human nature? Can early function affect the *structural* patterning of the brain or just its *physiology?* Just what is it that a " head start " or early enrichment of experience can do for the cerebral cortex? Is the plasticity of learning and memory as seen in the adult a direct out-growth or evolvement of the plasticity of neural development? In this connection, might not the developmental approach to the basis of learning and memory offer some special advantages and insight perhaps for solving the ancient problems of the memory trace?

Dr Sperry, who is Hixon Professor of Psychobiology at the

* R. W. Sperry, " Plasticity of Neural Maturation," *Developmental Biology Supplement*, Vol. 2, 1968, pp. 306-327.

[1] M. R. Rosenzweig, E. L. Bennet and M. C. Diamond, " Brain Changes in Response to Experience," *Scientific American*, Vol. 226, February 1972, pp. 22-29.

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California Institute of Technology, is well qualified to deal with these subjects. His previous work has covered various aspects of the functioning of the central nervous system, including the mechanisms involved in perception, learning and memory. Dr Sperry's " split-brain " experiments have contributed much to our understanding of the interdependence of the two cerebral hemisperes and of the functioning of the corpus callosum.[2]

In an earlier article Professor Sperry reviewed his experimental work on the regeneration of nerve circuits in some animal populations, which was directed toward determining the rôle of heredity in visual behaviour.[3] At that time he concluded that his experiments showed that " in the lower vertebrates, at least, many features of visual perception—the sense of direction and location in space, the organization of patterns, the sense of position of the visual field as a whole, the perception of motion and the like—are built into the organism and do not have to be learned. More general experiments suggest that the organization of pathways and associations in the central nervous system must be ascribed for the most part to inherent developmental patterning, not to experience." Consequently, " every animal comes into the world with inherited behavior patterns of its species," and " much of its behavior is a product of evolution, just as its biological structure is."

In this paper Professor Sperry analyzes the behavioral deficits occuring in man as a consequence of the absence or surgical dissection of the corpus callosum. The corpus callosum is a band of some 200 million cross-connecting fibers, which constitute the main channel for cross-communication between the cerebral hemispheres. Comparison of the effects produced when the brain is deprived of the callosal system by congenital absence as opposed to surgical sectioning is suggested as a means of obtaining " a fairly direct measure of the functional plasticity of the developing brain."

Dr Sperry and his associates have developed over the years a series of special tests of visual perception, learning, and memory, which are designed to measure cross-integrational deficits. That is, " these are test tasks that normal human subjects perform without difficulty, but on which the patients with surgical section of the callosum have been found either to fail completely or show severe impairment."

In surgical patients with bisected corpus callosum, the two separated hemispheres " continue to function at a high level, but each operates in isolation with respect to most of the . . . higher functions of the brain." Thus, each hemisphere " seems to have its

[2] R. W. Sperry, " Cerebral Organization and Behavior," *Science*, Vol. 133, 1961, pp. 1749-1757.

[3] R. W. Sperry, " The Eye and the Brain," *Scientific American*, Vol. 194, May 1956, pp. 48-52.

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own private sensations, perceptions, mental images and ideas, its own volitional and learning experiences, and each has its own separate chain of memories."

The neurological and psychological tests employed by Dr Sperry allow each cerebral hemisphere to receive restricted information not available to the other hemisphere. For example, pairs of numbers are presented visually, one to the left and one to the right half-field. " The congenital patient can integrate the right and left output so as to read off the sum or the product just as rapidly as an average normal control subject." This cannot be done by surgical patients.

Dr Sperry thus notes a " marked difference between the functional effects of early congenital and late surgical elimination from the brain of the same system of fiber connections," which demonstrates " the kind of functional compensation that it is possible to achieve in the still-developing but not in the fully developed brain." The author proceeds to analyze the kind of underlying developmental changes that " could account for the ability of a brain, totally lacking its callosal cross-connections, to perceive two different syllables flashed separately into right and left visual half-fields, put them together mentally and to read them off as a single word with normal speed."

Professor Sperry, however, rules out as an explanation, " the formation of new systems of commisural cross-connections at other locations." He points out that other evidence from studies of nerve growth and regeneration indicates that

> in general, the fiber patterns and connections in the brain seem to be preprogrammed genetically within rather narrow specifications . . . . The growth properties that determine the course and connections of the developing brain fibers seem to be rather strictly controlled by refined cytochemical specificities that in turn are predetermined genetically.

Compensatory enlargement of other commissures is also " ruled out from anatomical studies with the exception of the anterior commissure," although " the possibility of localized compensatory changes in the axonal or dendritic connections within the fine structure of the cortex has not been excluded." Dr Sperry cautions, however, that " it also remains possible that there may be no critical network changes involved at all; the underlying changes could all be physiological and chemical, within the normally existing morphological networks developmentally patterned under genetic control. This also applies to normal learning and memory in the adult."

Another explanatory possibility of the lack of many of the symptoms in the congenital condition considered by the author, was " a bilateral development of language including speech in both

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hemispheres." Cerebral organization of language appears to be bilateral in early childhood for most individuals. Up to about the age of ten or eleven, the language functions can be taken over by the opposite hemisphere if the language centers in the major hemisphere are destroyed, or even if the whole hemisphere is removed during early childhood. After this cut-off point, however, " unilateral brain damage may cause severe language problems."

" Increased bilateralization at the cortical level of the functional representations of the hands, feet, and body generally," is suggested as " another likely factor that would help to account for the observed functional compensation " in patients with congenital absence of the corpus callosum. Dr Sperry also notes that " increased sophistication in the use of ipsilateral information " and " self-education in the use of various strategies and cross-cuing devices " is another form of compensation which has resulted in the gradual improvement in test performances over time in the case of surgical patients.

" In these several kinds of factors which may reinforce one another in combination, one can conceive in outline form an explanation for the kind of functional compensation achieved with congenital absence of the callosum." Professor Sperry thus concludes his analysis as follows:

> It is important to note that none of the explanatory possibilities that have been mentioned call for the establishment of new fiber or cell systems which are not already provided for in the mechanisms of normal growth. So far as it can be seen at present, the explanation would seem to rely more on the absence of disuse during development than on the stimulated growth and addition of novel brain elements. This fits the old and widely supported observation that brains tend to remain remarkably immutable in their size and structure in the face of tremendous variations in the uses to which they are put in the lifetimes of different individuals. According to available evidence on neural maturation and on adult learning the functional changes in brain capacity effected through learning and memory seem to be achieved without gross structural additions. They would seem to be better conceived as occuring within the limitations of the genetically determined morphology rather than as renovations of, or additions thereto.

Dr Sperry then proceeds to compare his conclusion which " may seem to be directly contradicted by the well-known studies of Rosenzweig and associates at Berkeley."[4] In these experiments, it has been claimed that " raising animals, rats and mice specifically, in ' enriched ' environments causes a significant thickening of the

[4] M. R. Rosenzweig, " Environmental Complexity, Cerebral Change, and Behavior," *The American Psychologist*, Vol. 21, 1966, pp. 321-332.

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cerebral cortex up to as much as 6 per cent." Professor Sperry believes that " the issue is critical " and notes that " measurements of the ' enriched ' cortex have not been shown to exceed those of the normal ' wild ' brain."

Furthermore, the cerebral cortex of the severely impoverished rat that has spent his entire life since weaning in solitary confinement has been found to measure up " remarkably well on the whole to that of his enriched brothers. It is mainly in the occipital or visual area that the major differences are found, and even this selectively sensitive, late-developing occipital region tends gradually to catch up in its growth to the ' enriched ' dimensions, provided the impoverished animals are allowed to live into late middle age."

Dr Sperry also observes that " the same studies have shown that if the monotony (and the stress?) of the impoverished solitary cell existence is relieved for only two hours per day the adverse effects on cortical growth are cancelled. There are indications in the data that if the daily monotony of the impoverished existence is relieved for only 15 minutes of handling during transfer to and from cages, this in itself is sufficient to cancel the growth differences." Consequently, the author suggests that " these important studies deal with growth effects primarily rather than with learning and memory storage in the cortex as long supposed."

Finally, Professor Sperry concludes his evaluation of the studies of Rosenzweig, *et al.* as follows:[5]

> As for any attempt to relate these findings in rodents to primates, especially to man, one can only say that such incomplete evidence as is available has failed, as yet, to show that enrichment of experience in infancy and early childhood beyond average care and maintenance will increase cortical dimensions or even intellectual potential. Adverse extremes in early experience, on the other hand, seem to have demonstrable and even striking effects, at least on social behavior and personality. More subtle intellectual effects may be found in time; but in any case, more evidence along all these lines is much needed.

All in all, Dr Sperry's paper contains much valuable information which should be read by all students of the human brain.

[5] See H. M. Skells, " Adult Status of Children with Contrasting Early Life Experiences," *Monograph Society for Research in Child Development*, Vol. 31, 1966, pp. 1-65.

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Evolution and Ethics

BY NATHANIEL WEYL

In an age of skepticism, the traditional foundations of ethics crumble. The central issue confronting the moral philosopher is whether ethics has or has not an objective basis and, if it has, what that objective validation is and whence it derives.

Many assert that ethical systems are mere subjective constructions by which specific societies, classes, peoples or power groups impose norms of their own choosing upon others. Under this hypothesis, the only scientifically acceptable study of ethics is its sociology, that is to say, the reasons why certain moral systems arose, their modes of change, and the factors which have led to the establishment of new ethical norms and the repudiation of older, pre-existing ones.

A variant of this subjective position is the view of Jean Paul Sartre that authenticity, regardless of the moral content of the action, is the sole ethical criterion.[1] " The individual's duty is to do what he wants to do, to think whatever he likes, to be accountable to no one but himself." Or again, " It is I who create and maintain the values in being . . . . I make the decision, alone, unjustifiable, without excuse . . . . This is the cause of my ' ethical anxiety '."[2]

If all ethics is subjective as to content, then no moral system can be more valid than any other. This attitude may seem attractive to the sort of mind which prides itself on freedom from parochial values and prejudices. But it has the fatal disadvantage of paralyzing all moral and most social action. It is a road to servitude, not freedom; to disintegration, not order.

Logically, the only verdict the pure subjectivist in morals can pass on, say the extermination of European Jewry, is that the act was wrong from the standpoint of Jewish and Western ethics, but right from that of Nazi ethics. A preference for due process of law over genocide—whether of the Nazi, Stalinist or Maoist variety—would then seem no less arbitrary and culture-bound than our preference for olive oil over rancid yak butter.

If no objective standards of human conduct exist, ethical judgments are mere reflections of the social milieu of the observer. One ethical system may be judged superior to another on the grounds that the society enforcing it is more powerful than the society which rejects it. As the Athenian delegation told the Melesians, ". . . you

[1] Martin Buber has taken a similar position.

[2] Jean Paul Sartre, *L'Age de Raison*, p. 143; Jean Paul Sartre, *L'etre et le neant*, pp. 75 and 77, quoted from Will Herberg, " The ' What ' and the ' How ' in Ethics," *Modern Age*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Autumn 1971, p. 355.

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know as well as we do that right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."[3] In short, this view amounts to the law of the jungle in morals.

THE QUEST FOR VALIDATION OF ETHICS

The millennium of faith, in which Christianity dominated the Western mind, was an era in which the quest for objectivity in ethics had little urgency. The general conviction that the Bible contained God's ethical commandments to man, that life on earth was significant primarily as a proving ground for the hereafter, that Christian faith and conduct would determine man's fate in the endless future life—these beliefs gave ethics validity, imbued it with a specific and definite content, and integrated it into a tightly woven *Weltanschauung*.

A common illusion is that specific ethical systems can be deduced from the bare premise of the existence of God. It is necessary to go beyond this and accept the divine origin of the specific moral code of the religion of one's choice.

The West often assumes, perhaps glibly and smugly, that the Hebraic conception of the oneness of God represented a giant step forward in man's thinking. Perhaps so. Nevertheless, there were advantages to the Greek cosmos. Given a plurality of deities, none with absolute power or of impeccable virtue, Greek thinkers did not have to try to reconcile the existence of evil with the omnipotence and beneficence of God. For similar reasons, they were unable to found their ethics on divine revelation and had to speculate about the relationship of moral values to the real world.

Objective, secular ethics presupposed the presence of forces in the universe from which those ethics derived. Plato's brilliant proposed solution to this problem—the hypothesis that archetypal ideas formed the underlying structure of the universe and that the world of phenomena was merely their experienced approximation—satisfied scores of generations of philosophers.

Probably the most intellectually daring modern attempt to find an objective foundation for ethics is that of Marxism. Morality derives from the conditions of social production. Human consciousness does not determine men's conditions of social existence, " but on the contrary their social existence . . . determines their consciousness."[4]

Morality is class ideology. The morality of moribund classes is negated and superseded by that of emergent ones destined for

[3] Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (Rawlinson translation), Book V, chapter XVII,

[4] Karl Marx, *A Critique of Political Economy* (N. I. Stone translation), pp. 11ff.

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power. Proletarian ethics are deemed superior to all previous ethical systems, both because they are the ideology of the class to which the future belongs and because the dictatorship of the proletariat is destined to usher in a classless society, in which human exploitation ceases and the dialectical process, that was formerly the mainspring of history, ceases.

There is a dual aspect to Marxian morality. " In our opinion," Lenin told a gathering of Comsomols after the October Revolution, " morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class war. Everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting order."[5] The obverse of this morality is a code of ethics, applicable among Communists or within a Soviet society where considerations of class-struggle expediency do not arise. This is rather similar to the repudiated morality of the putatively exploitative bourgeois order.

The validity of the Marxian solution to the problem does not depend on one's attitude toward the Soviet system or on its ultimate triumph or defeat, but on the far narrower issue of the validity of those dialectical " laws of motion " of modern society which Marx believed he had discovered. The collapse of this intellectually intricate ideological structure—one which seems inevitable in the long run regardless of the outcome of political conflicts, simply because the Marxian dialectic is basically incompatible with science —will reduce the logical validation of Marxian ethics to ruins.[6]

JEFFERSON AND NATURAL RIGHTS

To the extent that it is not predicated on religious revelation, contemporary American ethics derives largely from the natural rights doctrine. The most familiar, as well as the most forceful and eloquent, assertion of this view is the claim that " all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

When these ringing words are considered in terms of meaning rather than rhetoric, it is plain that they are either psychological assertions or postulated moral norms. As statements of fact, the Declaration of Independence suffers from the fact that " we are all born unfree and unequal: subject to our physical and psychological heredity, diversely endowed in health and strength, in mental capacity and qualities of character."[7] Nor are all men given the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Some are

[5] Quoted by David Shub, *Lenin*, Doubleday, New York, 1948, p. 369.

[6] This does not, of course, imply that it will therefore cease to dominate the moral thinking and conduct of the masses who live under the Soviet system or systems.

[7] Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History*.

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snuffed out by chromosomal imperfections, disease, famine or war.

The subjects of despotism enjoy little freedom. The victims of poverty and disease are denied happiness.

If many men never enjoy these rights, in what sense are they unalienable? Is man free in the last resort merely in the Stoic sense that he is always free to take his life? If the Jeffersonian assertion that man is endowed with these rights by his Creator is to be taken seriously, what is the evidence of this endowment and what is the form in which these rights exist in the human psyche? Are they envisaged as instinctual drives? If so, are they characteristics common to all men, including the worst? Was Aristotle wrong in believing that some members of the human race are natural slaves?[8]

Living at a time when man's knowledge of himself was intuitional and rudimentary, anxious to cast off the shackles of religious dogma, the philosophers of natural rights, from Locke to Rousseau, made *a priori* assumptions concerning man's nature and based their ethical systems upon these assumptions. Where the latter were intended to be factual, they were almost invariably erroneous. Where they were intended to be normative, they can best be described as arbitrary.

In such fields as sexual morality and familial relationships—areas of rapid change in the contemporary American scene—the natural rights approach is evidently being rapidly superseded by a pragmatic one. This highly significant change is occurring without any attempt to rethink the fundamental basis of ethics.

The natural rights approach reigns least challenged in areas so remote from civic experience that basic revision seems unnecessary. The pronouncements made in American presidential campaigns are often lofty generalizations based upon natural rights abstractions and it is perhaps for this reason that they are so seldom honored by successful candidates. In international affairs, the American stance is often a moralistic assertion that certain Jeffersonian principles must be realised—that the Greeks must restore complete freedom of the Press, the Vietnamese hold free elections, the Rhodesians accede to majority rule. This may provide a clue to the observed fact that American foreign policy often runs counter to the American national interest.

Perhaps the most fatal result of this heritage of questionable or untenable values is that Western ethics is not oriented toward the major problems of man's future, but rather toward the proliferation of certain political goals which follow from the doctrines of Locke, Jefferson and others. Unencumbered by this intellectual heritage, both the Nazis and the Communists focussed their political thinking

[8] The answer given to these questions in the Declaration of Independence is that magnificent and impudent evasion, " We hold these truths to be self-evident . . . ."

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and activity on the organization of world power. Perhaps the major strength of the communist appeal to intellectuals is as a system of world power organization.[9] However, crude and ruthless that plan for power is, it seems preferable, in the minds of many intellectuals, to drift.

In *A Study of History*, Toynbee suggests that Greek civilization disintegrated because the Greek mind was unable to take the giant step from the organization of political power on the basis of the *polis* to that of the nation-empire. This failure became crucial when military, technological and administrative institutions made the larger power concentration feasible. The Western inability to move from the national unit to a world system of order at a time when scientific and technological developments make the latter necessary may, in Toynbee's opinion, be equally tragic.

At the close of the Second World War, the United States enjoyed a paramount and unprecedented position of intellectual authority, political prestige, military power and economic strength. A war-devastated world looked to Washington for leadership and salvation, for international institutions which would provide order, security, individual freedom, and the preconditions of progress. Since the American mind was imbued with a political philosophy of natural rights and an egalitarian faith, we stressed democracy, self-determination, and nationalism as panaceas valid for all mankind. This approach brought neither order nor freedom.

The Free World was accused of obsessional devotion to subordinate political objectives of a doctrinaire and dubious sort and of failure to give serious consideration to modes of international organization, alternate and superior to the Soviet system. It is possible that the failure of the West to devise an effective institutional system to maintain international order, cope with world ecological problems, and effect the adjustment of world population growth to world resources, will be regarded by future generations as a turning point in history.

UNITS OF EVOLUTION: BOTH MAN AND SOCIETY

One virtue of the natural rights approach to ethics is that it sought to make morality objective by basing it on man as he exists. Its greatest defect was that its superstructure of morals rested on a foundation that was *a priori* and arbitrary.

Today, probably for the first time in history, we know enough about *Homo sapiens* to place secular ethics on a solid foundation.

[9] The intellectuals often translate the realistic phrase *world power organization* into such moralistic surrogates as the elimination of war, the destruction of imperialism, the end of class oppression, etc., etc. The reality is world power centralization.

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This knowledge derives primarily from evolutionary biology and genetics.

Some earlier approaches to ethics from the biological vantage point took the oversimplified view that man merely recapitulates the Darwinian struggle for survival. The fact that evolutionary processes often ruthlessly cull less fit individuals from animal species was adduced to justify similar ruthless winnowing processes in human society. Exponents of a biological approach to morals, particularly during the nineteenth century, made themselves deservedly unpopular by defending, or appearing to defend, such selective processes as war, hunger, poverty and epidemics, viewing them as beneficent means of pruning the human tree of its weaker branches. Advocates of this view often deprecated advances in public health and food production, since they increased reproduction by the lower classes. Others deplored advances in medicine which might pile up deleterious recessive genes in the human pool.

One of the most eminent of living biologists writes:[10]

> Darwin and his followers could not understand the effect of selection on larger units and longer periods than the individual and his life. They also did not reckon with a selection of environments. Both these failures led to an error in their social arguments, an error which has had an abiding effect in the world ever since Darwinian doctrines came to be disseminated, vulgarized and applied to man. All the paraphrases of the idea of Natural Selection throw the same emphasis on the individual as the ultimate and sufficient unit of evolutionary change. This emphasis was dramatically effective, but analytically disastrous. Spencer's *Survival of the Fittest* and Malthus's *Struggle for Existence* equally ignored the stock and the race, the group or the community, as entities. They equally implied also a standardized environment. Haeckel fulminated against socialism with "many are called but few are chosen." With complacency and even satisfaction, he was able to point out that the great mass of mankind "starves and prematurely perishes in misery." Darwin heartily declared: "What a foolish idea seems to prevail in Germany on the connection between Socialism and Evolution through Natural Selection." (1879, *Life and Letters.*)"

The nineteenth century theorists of evolution whom Darlington castigates (and some of their twentieth century disciples) failed to perceive that co-operation may be as important as struggle in the competition for survival. Eugene Marais, the great South African

[10] C. D. Darlington, *Genetics and Man*, Penguin, Middlesex, 1964, p. 363. Marx offered to dedicate the first volume of *Das Kapital* to Darwin, but the latter politely declined.

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naturalist, described a baboon troop in flight before a leopard. Two male baboons, defended the fleeing troop by falling on the leopard, attacking him, and being disembowelled in the process.[11]

When the struggle for survival is regarded solely from the standpoint of the individual, this and other instances of primate altruism seem suicidal and a ticket to extinction. But primate troops, defended by rearguard males who sacrifice themselves in suicidal defensive action against more powerful predators, survive. Those not so defended perish. If one postulates an anterior condition in which the drive to defend the troop among the rear-guards varied from zero to its maximum, those troops with cowardly defenders would be devoured and their genes eliminated from the baboon pool. In this way, natural selection would strengthen and generalize genetic combinations favorable to courageous self-sacrifice and would extinguish gene combinations conducive to egotistic cowardice.

This example could be paralleled by others. It serves to demonstrate, first, that altruism can be created and fortified in animals by natural selection and, second, that the social unit can be as significant as the individual in shaping the genetic nature, not only of non-human primates and other mammals, but also of man himself.

In these terms, argument concerning the primacy of the individual or society is generally non-productive. Motivated by a distaste for governmental regulations which unnecessarily inhibit individual freedom, some libertarians assert that the individual is all-important and society an artificial construction. Yet evolutionary forces operate directly, not only upon the individual, but also on the family, troop, subspecies, race and species. Territorial defense, pecking order, care of progeny, mate selection, population control and imposed sterility are all modes of response to habitat which arise within and shape animal societies.

At the opposite pole, the late Harry Stack Sullivan asserted that human personality does not exist *per se*, but is merely a bundle of interpersonal relationships.[12] That this bizarre theory, which completely ignores the rôle of genetics in forging human personality, could have been published in a reputable journal of psychiatry merely illustrates the unfortunate alienation of that discipline from the findings of the biological sciences.

Unlike other mammals, man can shape his own environment. This potential for control increases at an accelerated rate with time. Famine, pestilence and war held down population and eliminated the less fortunate and capable. Demographic and eugenic planning

[11] Eugene Nielen Marais, *My Friends the Baboons*, McBride, New York, 1940. Quoted by Robert Ardrey, *African Genesis*, Athenaeum, New York, 1961, pp. 80-81.

[12] Harry Stack Sullivan, " The Illusion of Personal Individuality," *Psychiatry*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1950, p. 329.

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can humanely achieve the same results. Our preference for the rational over the involuntary and catastrophic solution is a natural consequence of man's evolution as a reasoning animal. It is a moral preference if the basic criterion of morality is species survival.[13]

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The evolutionary approach to morals has the great advantage over the *a priori* natural rights viewpoint of starting with the axiom that everything conducive to the survival and ecological advance of *Homo sapiens* is moral and everything detrimental to that survival immoral.

The cardinal element in human evolution from mere member of the primate order to master of the biosphere was development of intelligence. Control by man of his habitat is vitiated by acceleration in the rate of change.[14] This double acceleration means that the time available for crucial decisions is shortened. The contemporary human condition is burdened with the need to master clashing forces of continually increasing potential for good or disaster in an ever-shortening time-span.

Thus, the continuing development of man's intelligence seems a prerequisite to species survival. A shortfall in this area, not to mention a retrogression toward lower levels of mental ability, leads to calamity. The most obvious example is the barbarian or psychotic armed with nuclear weapons.

When harnessed to evil purposes, intelligence can self-evidently be, not benefit, but bane. As a general rule, however, there seems to be a strong positive correlation between intelligence and other desirable psychic qualities such as regard for the remoter consequences of any decision in space and time, sympathy, compassion, tolerance, the love of peace, order and justice. The assertion that intelligence is positively associated with these cognate beneficial psychic qualities probably cannot be proved, but it seems to be a matter of common human experience.

Perhaps the most fundamental ethical conclusion that follows from these generalizations is that any moral system based upon the hypothesis that men are of equal capacity or equal worth is predicated on fallacy. Man is not interchangeable, nor is his mind the Lockean *tabula rasa*. What may be moral conduct toward one man or group

[13] As Mr Justice Holmes said in Buck v. Bell, 274 U.S. 200, 1927, upholding the right of a state to sterilize feeble-minded mothers: " It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their king .... Three generations of imbeciles is enough."

[14] Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, Random House, New York, 1970.

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of men may be immoral when applied to a different individual or group.[15]

An objectively based system of ethics should be invariable as far as its fundamental premise or premises are concerned, but variable with respect to the specific ethical conclusions which follow from these premises. Changing social conditions alter the impact, implications and effects of different types of conduct. An ethical system based on imposed commandments is generally rigid. This rigidity may make it seem irrelevant to a social pattern which was not foreseen at the time it evolved. Some of the Jewish dietary laws and the Mohammedan observance of Ramadan are perhaps cases in point. A similar rigidity may invalidate systems of ethics based on natural rights theory, where the code of conduct derives from assumptions concerning man's basic nature which are contrary to fact.

A morality based upon the criterion of whether conduct serves to increase or reduce the survival prospects of the human species is self-evidently highly flexible in its specific evaluations. What conduces to man's welfare under one set of conditions may lead to his downfall under another.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF AN EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH

An evolutionary approach to ethics implies both changing some of the normal standards of human conduct and shifting the emphasis from comparatively unimportant to more crucial issues.

An interesting, but rather unimportant, test case for the application of biological knowledge to ethics is incest. Today, taboos against this practice are almost universal. How did they arise? If, as has been asserted, abhorrence of incest is instinctual in most men, why are not such instinctual rejection mechanisms present in the other primates? And how do we reconcile the hypothesis of instinctive rejection with the prevalence of brother-sister marriages in a large number of dynasties, the Persian, for instance, and of both brother-sister and parent-child marriages among the Ptolemies?

A few generations ago, sociologists might have conjectured that priestly leaders of ancient peoples decided that incestuous marriages frequently produced defective offspring and therefore invented and imposed religious taboos. A hypothesis which replaces conspiracy by evolutionary processes as the motive force might begin with the

[15] Parenthetically, the assertion, common among today's intellectuals, that intelligence is merely one of many human qualities and the implication that all these qualities are of more or less equal worth verges on deliberate deception. Man's primacy and mastery are based, not on his biceps or penis, but on his mind. The unwillingness of Western intellectuals to stress the critical importance of mind to species survival may be commendable modesty, but it is not conducive to clear thinking.

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assumption that different peoples originally had different attitudes toward incest. Those who condemned the process would produce more able, intelligent and aggressive ruling houses and classes. They would presumably conquer, kill, or enslave peoples ruled by incest-tolerant dynasties which had gone to seed genetically because of the emergence of faulty or even lethal double recessives. Processes of this sort would change the genetic pool and make rejection of incest innate among most of mankind.

Ethics based on evolution does not appeal to the past as its supreme court. The fact that sound biological reasons once existed for banning a practice does not necessarily justify continuing the ban. Incestuous sexual relations are not immoral from an evolutionary standpoint provided they do not lead to the production of genetically inferior progeny. A measure to legalize incest between consenting, sterile, adult partners would probably arouse widespread hostility, but the wise legislator would discount his own negative feelings as the probable byproduct of the conjectural evolutionary process already suggested.

Philosophy has been charged with preoccupying itself with meaningless questions.

Is man fundamentally good by nature as Mencius and Rousseau believed? Or basically evil as Hsun Tzu and Hobbes asserted? This question has engrossed great minds for millennia. Yet, if concepts of good and evil arise from observation of conduct, the scale itself is determined by human behavior and the question is meaningless.

A similar question is whether the means always or never justifies the end. The latter position is usually accepted in theory, but not in practice, in the West. If it were seriously entertained, warfare could never be justified since it implies that people may be treated, not merely solely as objects, but solely as objects for extermination, and this regardless of their worth as human beings and regardless of their responsibility. Warfare is justified on the practical grounds that the end—that of survival for a people, a nation or a complex of cherished institutions—putatively overrides the evil means necessarily adopted. Failure to use the ultimate force of war might mean placing the fate of mankind in the hands of those without such scruples.

The contrary position, that the means can always be justified by the end, would lead to total insecurity. No man's property would be safe if it could be stolen with impunity for a good cause. No man's life would be safe if his murder could be justified by the social advantage of his extinction.

From the evolutionary standpoint, that of preserving *Homo sapiens*, neither of these absolute positions has validity. The means-end process must be viewed as a single pattern of conduct. Bad means are justified when and only when the moral value of the desired

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end, multiplied by the probability of its attainment, exceeds the evil effect of establishing or strengthening a precedent in favor of bad means. This is provided that no better means of effecting the desirable end lies at hand.

Equally perturbing to many moralists is the relationship between environmental handicap and responsibility and between responsibility and punishment. Two of the common conflicting attitudes were eloquently voiced by Shakespeare.

" We are men, my liege," the First Murderer tells Macbeth. The latter believes men responsible for the evil they do and attributes character to heredity. He replies:[16]

Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men,
As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves are clept
All by the name of dogs . . .

The Second Murderer, a modern thinker, environmentalist and egalitarian—perhaps even a precursor of the New Left—retorts:[17]

I am one, my liege,
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Hath so incens'd, that I am reckless what
I do to spite the world.

The criminal is punished so that his example will deter others from crime, to incapacitate him from further offenses against society, and sometimes in the hope that he may be rehabilitated. Since crime is non-conducive to human survival, the necessity of socially imposed deterrents would seem evident.

Preoccupation with free will has led American justice into elaborate and imprecise probing into the relationship of crime and responsibility. Criminals may be exculpated because juries are told they were swayed by " irresistible impulse " or because of temporary insanity elaborately defined. The commonsense question, whether infallible punishment of culprits pleading temporary insanity would or would not deter others, is seldom asked.

The injection of free-will considerations into the criminal law has resulted in efforts to prevent or upset murder convictions because the defendants are double-Y chromosome males. This chromosomal trisomy probably makes them more prone to commit crimes than normal men. But if the possession of one bad chromosome can acquit for murder, why not the possession of many?

[16] Shoughs were lapdogs, originally brought from Iceland. " An Island Dog," wrote Holme in *Armoury* (Volume II, page 185) in 1688, " curled and rough all over . . . . These Curs are much set by with Ladys, who . . . trim of all the hair of their hinder parts . . . ." Water-rugs were another shaggy breed.

[17] I am indebted to Dr. C. D. Darlington for this quotation.

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Preoccupation with moral guilt and free will sometimes leads to exoneration of the mentally defective criminal, who is of no value to society and can be restrained only by fear or force. Drastic punishment is then reserved for the intelligent criminal, who is potentially useful to the world and who can in many cases be rehabilitated by an appeal to reason.

PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM

Freedom and order, John C. Calhoun once observed, are essential ingredients of the good society. Without freedom, a society cannot progress; without order, it cannot survive. If a choice must be made, societies can survive without progress, but they cannot progress without survival. This aphorism admittedly oversimplifies the relationship between these two cardinal values. Man is never confronted with the choice between freedom and order in the abstract or in their totality, but always with the choice of specific types and degrees of freedom as against specific types and degrees of order.

An ethical system based upon freedom in the abstract runs into difficulty that only specific types of freedom are conducive to the survival and progress of *Homo sapiens*. The freedom to shout four-letter words in church or to perfom homosexual acts on stage is not tantamount to freedom of scientific inquiry. The belief, held by some rightwing libertarians that their freedoms are trampled upon when they are compelled to pay taxes to support government lighthouses shows, in a different direction, how the pursuit of freedom as an abstraction can verge on lunacy.

A belief that the basis of human morals must be evaluation of behavior in terms of its total impact on species survival does not negate the traditional freedoms that form such an important part of the secular ethical heritage of the West. A free society is generally more creative, diverse, and dynamic than a regimented one. However, freedoms may be extended in such a direction and degree to such an extent that centrifugal forces are generated which threaten to disrupt the social order totally. This may apply either to the freedoms to advocate, teach, and organize anti-social and revolutionary action or to the freedoms to undermine, ridicule, and demolish those institutions and commonly held beliefs which give a society its cohesion. Where the lines should be drawn between freedom and order is naturally an issue of great complexity and one which depends *inter alia* on the history, institutions, mores and structure of the society or nation concerned. What reference to the basic criterion of species survival does do is to reject the simplified view that such institutions as democratic government, self-determination, universal franchise or the free-enterprise economy

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are the moral scales on which all societies must be weighed or that they provide the panaceas for the world's political sicknesses.

THE VALUE OF HUMAN LIFE

If we really believe that men are equally endowed with the natural right to live, we make little attempt to live by it. Famines and natural disasters in distant lands move few of us to the small sacrifices necessary to alleviate these catastrophes or save their victims from death. These calamities receive little more than our fleeting and emotionally undercharged attention.

The fact that Western society condemns and severely punishes extra-legal homicides is not necessarily related to a high valuation place upon human life in general. This condemnation serves the practical purpose of preventing rampant disorder and insecurity within our particular society. Thus, genocide in totalitarian countries arouses less concern and indignation in America than violence in our city streets. The morality of stern punishment for homicide derives from a recognition that, without security of life in our ambit, we are unsafe. The lack of safety prevents us from thriving or creating. A Hobbesian social order in which every man's hand is turned against his neighbor relegates man to the brutish condition which the author of *Leviathan* envisaged.

There is nothing in the evolutionary process which suggests that life is sacred. Nor does the evidence of history support that proposition. Organisms survive by adaptation to a changing environment. This adaptation, mainly through genetic recombination, mutation, and differential survival, necessarily involves both creation and extinction. For fitter lines to become predominant, the more inept lines must perish.

Today fortunately, genetic extinction need not be accomplished through Apocalyptic means. Reproductive restraint can make the grim Malthusian checks superfluous. But failure to make the former efficacious means that the latter must, sooner or later, supervene.

Contraception and abortion are opposed by some as destructive of either potential or actual life. But all sexual reproduction necessarily involves vast destruction of potential life. Without it, there would be no adequate mechanism for genetic improvement.

A growing recognition in the United States that population control is desirable has led to a masochistic flight from reproduction by the intellectual, power, and status élites. Yet restriction of reproduction by the upper classes and intelligentsia must lead to a deterioration in the human gene pool with respect to intelligence.

The reason for this is that the upper classes in any open society tend to be much more intelligent and talented than the average. Thus, in Great Britain, the average I.Q. of higher professionals

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(139.7) was 55 points above that of unskilled laborers (84.9).[18] Even if one assumes that the children of these two social groups should regress 50 per cent to the mean, their I.Q. difference would be twice that prevailing between American Whites and American Blacks.

If the higher-I.Q. groups in modern societies are persuaded to maintain their numbers at a constant level, while the average-I.Q. and mentally subnormal groups reproduce exuberantly, the average intelligence level must fall and the production of individuals of exceptionally high intelligence, those capable of constituting the creative élite of coming generations, must fall drastically. No ecological advantage can be obtained by this sort of restriction since the more intelligent and capable members of society are those with the ability to solve pollution problems.

The restriction seems flagrantly immoral since it is a crime against man's future. If the most urgent need of the day is to produce the sort of man capable of coping intelligently with the intricately intermeshing forces of our civilization, the sterilization of ability is a far more heinous crime than most of the offenses which preoccupy our police and judicial systems.

In short, man has reached a level of environmental mastery at which the cruel Malthusian processes of the past, which both held the quantity of human population to the level of available resources and improved the quality of population by winnowing out the less fortunate and less fit, have happily become unnecessary. They are unnecessary, however, only subject to the proviso that man substitutes internationally efficacious control mechanisms which both keep population numbers at tolerable levels and improve man's genetic heritage by giving reproductive advantage to the more intelligent, talented and creative. There are few signs on the horizon suggesting that either process is discernible.

In this connection, Nazi and Soviet totalitarian systems have been attacked on a variety of grounds, ranging from their inherent inefficiencies to their denial of freedom to their subjects. Because of our preoccupation with the great Jeffersonian illusion of human equality, few students have noticed the frightening fact that modern totalitarian genocide is also aristocide—that is to say, the extermination of the best. In short, these systems tend to impoverish the human genetic reservoir with respect to intelligence; they snuff out potential creativity and promise; they eliminate the leaven which enriches life for man in general.

Elsewhere, I have attempted to outline the general dimensions of this process and to indicate why it may be inherent in the modern totalitarian systems and not an extraneous and accidental by-

[18] Cyril Burt, " Intelligence and Social Mobility, " *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, Vol. 14, 1961, pp. 3-24.

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product.[19] I shall not attempt to recapitulate that argument here. Suffice it to say that the cardinal importance of this process, if it is allowed to continue, is that it destroys man's genetic birthright. By doing so, it increases the already salient chasm between man's intelligence and the magnitude of the inanimate forces he attempts to control. A continued widening of this gap may well produce a situation in which human intelligence (including necessarily the intelligence of the ruling element since, in one way or another and even under dictatorships, this is responsible to the psyche of the general population) falls disastrously short of the minimum requirements for the continued existence of civilization. In short, we can pass a point of no return in which man's psychic resources are so profoundly degraded by aristocide and dysgenic reproduction that he is unable effectively to manage the complex instrumentalities of species survival.

SUMMARY

A secular system of ethics must be based on human species survival. The central problem of that survival is that human ability (consisting primarily of intelligence, with which sensitivity, responsibility toward others, and the moral sense seem positively correlated) should be increased sufficiently to ensure wise use of the human environment. Genetic evolution in this direction no longer occurs effectively in modern societies (as it does among the non-human primates and in primitive societies) by calamity and catastrophe. A general growth of human sympathy, or altruism, has largely vitiated all pre-existing natural checks upon human reproduction, both quantitative and qualitative. The positive alternative is man-directed reproduction towards the improvement of man. Thus, the larger, long-range problems of morality are related to man's ecological adaptation to the biosphere, to the adjustment of world population to available resources, to the qualitative redirection of reproduction towards increasing man's intelligence and cognate psychic qualities, and to the extension of forms of social organization and government appropriate to the solution of these tasks.

[19] Nathaniel Weyl, "Artistocide as a Force in History," *Intercollegiate Review*, June 1967, pp. 237-245.

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More Speculations on the Reduction of the Canines

By ALEXANDER MAMAK

It is becoming increasingly popular among some anthropologists to approach the problem of " origins " by drawing inferences from a comparative study of non-human primates. Observations on the behaviour of free-ranging non-human primates, for example, have given us some perspective on the evolution of tool-using behaviour. Nevertheless, the use of this method has not prevented observers from arriving at simplistic, and contradictory explanations. For instance, it has been suggested that selection for a reduced canine complex in man's evolution occurred as a result of tool and weapon use.[1] On the other hand, Holloway has postulated that canine reduction in man resulted from selection for reduced aggression.[2] The interesting fact to note about these two different hypotheses is that they are both derived from the assumption that what is common behaviour among non-human primates was also common among man's ancestors.

The main purpose of this paper is to emphasize that proper comparisons between man and the non-human primates are difficult to make. It is just as easy to draw false inferences from these comparisons.

I propose to make my point by attempting to compare some behavioural phenomena among non-human primates in order to discover some common thread pervading this type of behaviour. The behaviour I have chosen for analysis is the threat behaviour expressed by a wide variety of non-human primates. I believe that the inferences drawn from this study may give us some insight (*pro tempore*) on the reduction of the canines, and also explain how language could have arisen in the course of evolution.

The thesis that I will advance and defend here is as follows: (1) reduction in man's canines was due to the loss of selective pressure for maintaining the specialized structures for aggressive display; and (2) that the function of these specialized features was replaced by language which (when viewed in comparison with the rate of reduction of the canines and other associated anatomical features) must have arisen early in the evolution of the man-apes. I maintain that the alternate explanations arising from my analysis are just as feasible as those postulated by Washburn and Holloway.

[1] Sherwood L. Washburn, " Tools and Human Evolution," *Scientific American*, September 1960, pp. 3-15.

[2] Ralph L. Holloway, " Reply to Washburn," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, No. 1, February 1968.

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The topic of this paper, however, is frankly speculative and does not make any claim that the point is proven conclusively. More importantly, it is hoped that this study will dramatize the fact that even logically deduced propositions may lead to false conclusions if the premises are weak to begin with.

Before I commence to analyze the findings from a comparative analysis of threat behaviour in some non-human primates it would be appropriate for our purposes briefly to review some of Washburn's assumptions regarding the evolution of tool-using behaviour and the reduction of the canine complex in man.[3] Washburn's main points are summarized below:

(1) the function of the canines in apes and monkeys is an adaptation for fighting within the troop, between troops and against animals of other species;
(2) in order that this long-lasting adaptation be reduced, the function performed by the adaptation must either change or be performed in some other way;
(3) this function was replaced by hands and tools. Tool-using was an essential part of the way of life that led to selection for a reduced canine complex in man.[4]

I will return to Washburn's main points after I have presented the data on non-human primate threat behaviour.

THREAT BEHAVIOUR IN SOME NON-HUMAN PRIMATES

BABOONS

DeVore has distinguished four forms of threat behaviour in baboon troops; the most important being the redirection of aggression or transferred threat. Facial expressions observed in threatening animals consist of:

(1) " staring "—a pronounced raising of the eyebrows with rapid blinking of pale eyelids;
(2) " yawning "—occurs more frequently when two adult males approach each other; the large canine teeth are clearly displayed with accompanying ear flattening and eyebrow raising.[5]

Washburn and DeVore's (1961) study refers to the basically

[3] Space will not permit me to deal with Holloway's argument, although as I hope to show in this study we are both heading towards the same conclusions.

[4] Sherwood L. Washburn, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[5] Irven DeVore and H. Hall, " Baboon Ecology," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 54-70.

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passive, non-aggressive nature of intergroup relationships although home ranges overlapped extensively and different social groups came into frequent contact. No fighting was observed between groups.[6]

CHIMPANZEES

During 300 hours of observing chimpanzee behaviour in the Budongo Forest, Reynolds and Reynolds report only 17 quarrels which involved actual fighting or display of threat or anger. None of these lasted more than a few seconds.[7]

Instances of attack were seldom observed by Goodall for the chimpanzees of the Gombe Stream Reserve. In most conflict situations threatening gestures were made accompanied with lips pushed forward.[8]

GORILLA

Responses to aggressive behaviour included:

(1) an unwavering stare, with furrowed brow and slightly pursed lips;
(2) quadrupidal bluff charge.

Most of the aggressiveness observed in the mountain gorilla was confined to staring and snapping. No serious aggressive contacts were witnessed between gorillas. Indeed, they seem to be remarkably passive in their behaviour even though there was extreme overlap of home ranges of different groups and inter-group contacts occurred fairly often.[9]

GIBBONS

Although different social groups of gibbons are antagonistic and intolerant of other groups, Carpenter did not observe any actual fighting. His conclusion is that " little intergroup combat occurs since vocalizations and general behaviour in the form of bluffing act as buffers to actual fighting."[10]

HOWLER

The howlers of Panama show marked intergroup intolerance but conflict and fighting is reduced to a minimum through highly

[6] Sherwood L. Washburn and Irven DeVore, " The Social Life of Baboons," *Scientific American*, June 1960, pp. 62-71.

[7] Vernon and Frances Reynolds, " Chimpanzees of the Budongo Forest," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 98-106.

[8] Jane Goodall, " Chimpanzees of the Gombe Stream Reserve," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 209-267.

[9] George B. Schaller, " The Behavior of the Mountain Gorilla," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 154-180.

[10] C. R. Carpenter, " A Field Study in Siam of the Behaviour and Social Relations of the Gibbon," *Comparative Psychology*, No. 6, 1940, p. 15.

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developed systems of communicative interaction which includes postures, gestures and vocal signals. One major function of these systems is that they serve as aggressive threats which act as substitutes for direct aggressive conflict.[11]

RHESUS

Group interactions among rhesus quite often erupt into severe fights. Their group movements are not accompanied by any unique vocalization, nor do they have any special vocal or other communicative mechanism to avoid each other or to provide information on the relative locations of groups.[12]

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The term *threat behaviour*, as used in this paper refers to any vocal or non-vocal communication used by non-human primates in the course of aggressive display short of direct conflict. Although it will be noted that there is a wide range of variability in primate aggressive behaviour, certain common features can be distinguished. These are listed below:

(1) all the non-human primates studied, with the exception of the Rhesus, are basically passive in their behaviour even though there is extensive overlapping of home ranges and frequent intergroup contacts;

(2) the aggressiveness and comparatively frequent direct fighting among the Rhesus in both South America and India may be due to their lack of a specialized communicative mechanism present in other species of primates, whereby serious injuries within and between groups are minimized.

With regard to the latter point, observations of the howler, for instance, indicate that the social evolution of the howler has led to a behavioural inhibition against direct conflict. The rhesus does not have this inhibition. It does not have the highly developed system of communication which the howler and other species have. The complex system of vocalization in the Gibbon serves much the same function as in howlers—i.e., it reduces inter-group contacts, and is used as an aggressive threat, thus averting situations of direct conflict.

Bluffing is often used to replace actual fighting among the great apes. The comparison shows that in most non-human primates

[11] C. R. Carpenter, " The Howlers of Barro Colorado Island," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 324-367.

[12] C. Southwick, Mirza Beg and Rafiq Siddiqi, " Rhesus Monkeys in North India," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 408-460.

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aggression is expressed through specialized communicative structures characterized by retractions of the lips so that canines are exposed; ear flattening; pronounced raising of the eyebrows; and vocalizations, the function of which is to reduce direct fighting within the group, and between groups and animals of other species.

The above findings would seem to refute the two basic assumptions made by Washburn. He contends, for instance, (on the basis of baboon behaviour) that the canine complex is an effective fighting mechanism and is " of the greatest importance to the survival of the troop."[13] None the less, DeVore and Hall state that " during a year's field study it is unlikely that actual predation on baboons will be seen."[14] In 1961 both observers remarked on the basically passive, non-aggressive nature of baboon troops. No examples of the use of canines as defence against predators are given.[15] The present comparative study also reveals that display tactics are more common than actual fighting.

Washburn[16] also remarks on the damage done by canines in in-group fighting. He notes that:

> . . . the evolution of weapons had evolved to a point at which they were more effective than teeth in intergroup conflict, in species spacing, in protection from predators, and possibly in hunting, then selection might be for small canines, which would reduce the cost of in-group fighting.

This cost, as I have tried to point out, is much reduced by the use of specialized features which make threat gestures effective without the need for direct conflict. Moreover, there is a note of contradiction in Washburn's statement. Is it not likely that if more effective weapons replaced the function of canines, the cost of in-group fighting would be increased rather than reduced?

At the risk of sounding repetitious I must again emphasize the importance of the facial anatomical characters of some non-human primates as a means of avoiding direct conflict. Viewed in this context it has survival value for the individual and the group. More generally, as LeGros Clark puts it, " . . . it is likely that the versatility of facial expression in the higher primates plays a highly significant rôle as a means of communication between members of family or social group."[17] Man does not have these specialized structures characteristic of non-human primates. The selection

[13] Sherwood L. Washburn, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[14] Irven DeVore and H. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[15] Sherwood L. Washburn and Irven DeVore, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-71.

[16] Sherwood L. Washburn, " Letters to the Editor," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, No. 1, February 1968, p. 99.

[17] W. E. Le Gros Clark, *The Antecedents of Man*, Harper and Row, New York, 1963, p. 268.

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pressures for maintaining those structures were reduced and eventually lost in the course of man's evolution. As Washburn has pointed out, in order for a long-lasting adaptation to be reduced the function performed by the adaptation must either change or be performed in some other way.[18] The suggestion made by Holloway that hormonal changes caused the loss of canine adaptation does not give, as Washburn correctly points out, any explanation as to how the function of the canines was replaced.[19]

I have stated earlier that the reduction in the canine teeth *and* the related changes in the muscles, face, and other parts of the skull may be due, not necessarily to the use of tools, but to the loss of selective pressure for maintaining the specialized structures used for threat behaviour. In order that my thesis be advanced I had better postulate some type of behaviour which replaced the primitive functions of those specialized structures and preceded the refinement of human features in man's evolution. It is at this point, I believe, that the ability to use symbols commenced. If language replaced the specialized structures for expressing threat behaviour, it follows that the facial muscles, which are important for maintaining the latter type of behaviour among non-human primates, became reduced in size and simplified in man. Let us examine how this is evidenced in the fossil record.

The questions that must be answered here are:

(1) at what point in time and with what ancestral form do we associate the ability to symbolize, i.e. to use language; and

(2) at what point in time and in which ancestral form is the refinement of the human face already apparent?

With regard to the latter point, the almost complete disappearance of brow ridges, the refinement of facial characteristics and the ability to communicate by means of abstract symbols are suggested as being apparent from the time of the *Australopithecinae*. This is not as unreasonable as it may seem. In speaking of those facial characteristics of non-human primates I have stressed their integrated combination which only when viewed as such produces the total functional design. This is not the case when only a single characteristic (e.g. canine teeth) is compared in isolation.

Much has been stressed about the small size of the canine teeth in the Australopithecines. What is also important to note for this study is the fact that the Australopithecine skull " differs from the pongoid type of skull, and conforms to the hominid type, in a number of apparently minor features which, taken in combination, constitute a morphological pattern of considerable taxonomic significance."[20]

[18] Sherwood L. Washburn, *op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 3-15.

[19] Sherwood L. Washburn, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 99.

[20] W. E. Le Gros Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

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In comparison with the modern African apes, the forehead region lacks the supraorbital torus, and the jaws, though massive, do not project as far in advance of the frontal margin of the brain case.[21]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The comparative study of threat behaviour in some species of non-human primates suggests that vocalizations form an important part of the specialized mechanism for averting direct conflict among groups, between groups, and between species. It is not unreasonable to infer from this that the vocalization gradually became more refined early in the evolution of man-apes until it replaced completely the functions of the specialized structures, resulting in the refinement of facial characteristics. Recent studies of communication in monkeys and apes indicate that vocal communication of non-human primates may be a significant pre-adaptation for speech.[22]

Hockett has pointed out that " man is the only animal that can communicate by means of abstract symbols. Yet this ability shares many features with communication in other animals, and has arisen from these more primitive systems.[23] Nine of Hockett's 13 design features are included for the vocal-auditory communication of the proto-hominoids. The remaining four are equated with tool-making and carrying. Certainly by the time of the Australopithecines there is evidence for simple tool-making and sporadic hunting.[24]

I have not answered the question as to what point in time and in which form the shift from canines to language occurred. I have no direct answer, but I would like to use as explanation one final quote from Washburn. In reply to the same question with regard to the shift from teeth to tools, he has said that it occurred " long before the appearance of the forms that have been found in association with stone tools."[25] Surely this answer should suffice for our purpose, at least for the time being.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Peter Marler, " Communications in Monkeys and Apes," in *Primate Behavior: Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, pp. 544-583.

[23] Charles Hockett, " The Origin of Speech," *Scientific American*, October 1960, p. 89.

[24] Clifford Geertz, " The Transition to Humanity," in *Human Evolution*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, p. 117.

[25] Sherwood L. Washburn, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 9.

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Book Reviews

ABORIGINAL MAN AND ENVIRONMENT IN AUSTRALIA

Edited by D. J. Mulvaney and J. Golson. Australian National University Press, Canberra. Pp. 389, 31 plates, 24 figures, 24 tables. Price $12.50.

By all standards this is an important collection of essays on this subject. There is an interesting and useful paper by R. L. Kirk on genetic evidence and its implications in Aboriginal prehistory.

Occasionally he has the need to cite comparative criteria from " Africans." This is unfortunate, as all Africans, even all black Africans, are not of the same genetic constitution. Among the black races of Africa are not only Negroids but also Nilotics and Cushitic peoples which in my view have Australoid elements, and these all have in part Caucasoid and Cappoid genes.

The fact that for a restricted group of genetic traits greater differences were found between the Ainu, Bushmen, and Veddah, and the Aboriginal, and these latter and the peoples of New Guinea (p. 338), is not surprising. The Australoid in the Melanesian is more nearly related to the Aboriginal than the more distant Australoid of the Veddah, and the much more distant Australoid of the Ainu, while the Bushman is, in my opinion, unrelated to the native Australian.

Kirk (p. 341) draws attention to the fact that the Di(a) blood group antigen is found in the majority of Mongoloids, as is also a transferrin variant Dchi, which is widely distributed in South American Amerindians, Lapps in Finland, some people in north-eastern India, and among the Ainu. All these peoples are either Mongoloid in origin or have received Mongoloid genes, as in the case of the Indian and Ainu populations mentioned. These can be considered indications of Mongoloid blood. He calculates that " for the Dchi to have achieved its present observed frequency would be in the range of 30,000 to 80,000 years."

The lesser end of this scale seems to us to be too short a time, as the evidence is accumulating which would indicate that the settlement of America was much earlier than formerly believed.

He notes a similar but distinct transferrin mutant D_1 as being widely distributed in Australian, Melanesian and black African populations. Unfortunately he does not say which Africans are involved. However, he assumes that the source of transferrin mutant D_1 came from the same source as the Melanesian and Australian, which could well be the case as there are Australoid elements in the Cushitics, Nilotics and among some Bantu, as well as in the Melanesians. He sees these as having separated from the other racial groups roughly 100,000 years ago. This, again, seems to us to be too short a period, especially in view of Professor Coon's view of the differences in evolutionary dates for the emergence of the various groups to the rank of *Homo sapiens*.

The author's view (p. 341) that the Australoids, Melanesians, and " Africans " shared a common ancestry as late as 100,000 years ago, seems quite untenable. The Australoid and Negroid (although both may have relationships to the Melanesians) are vastly different stocks, having very little in common—broad nostrils, dark skin and eyes are found in them all. But Professor Ruggles Gates found the nigrescence of the skin was governed by more alleles in the Negroid than the Australoid generally. That there are Negroid traces through the Melanesians in the North, and Australoid traces in Africa makes this kind of evaluation hazardous.

Genetic characters connected with serology and related subjects is a dangerous basis for ascertaining ethnic relationships divorced from the rest of ethnological criteria. This is seen where the author says the Australian Aborigines are

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genetically heterogeneous because of random genetic drift, spread of new mutants, and the mixing of gene pools from different groups. That is, they are heterogeneous to a degree when measured by these genetic traits. But for all that the Australoids are remarkably far from being heterogeneous. There are two basic types, Carpentarian and Murrayian, but beyond this little admixture over a long period of time from the outside world. At the most there are two strains, the one (Carpentarian) with some Melanesian in it. The heterogeneity referred to is only relative, within these general types. Blood groups and associated data can help us, but only within the framework of known facts and taxonomic classification.

A. G. Thorne, with " The Racial Affinities of the Australian Aborigines," produces a paper of merit which outlines the basic dilemma of the Aboriginal origins—whether they are descended from several stocks or whether from one only. Those who support the first view look upon them as hybrids, and so they approximate to a racial-breed. Thorne considers the evidence for the extinct Tasmanians being Negritoes is not at all conclusive. But Abbie (p. 321) considers that the Tasmanians are a separate entity from the Australoids. I agree with him that they are of more Melanesian origin. Therefore, suggestions of a Negrito relationship are probably correct.

Birdsell, and others, consider the Murrayian element in the Australoids as an archaic Caucasoid. This I reject as I believe the Australoids are derived from a Neanderthaloid stock—cousins, perhaps, to the Caucasoids, of a collateral line.

The Ainu connection with the Australoid I accept, as a white, modern, Neanderthaloid, with or without a Caucasoid admixture.

There are, besides these, a wide range of important papers dealing with such subjects as " Sea Level Changes and Land Links;" " Late Quaternary Climates;" " Prehistory;" comparisons of New Guinea and Australian prehistory and aborginal population questions.

In some of these papers one observes scientific gibberish which one feels can only arise through an incomplete broad cultural education: thus:—detailed constricts, for detailed constructions; metrical characteristics, for measurational or measurable characteristics; metrics, for measurements, and so on. Jargon where plain English will serve should be expunged from all writing not least scientific. Words which are not found in dictionaries, or are used differently from the lexicographical meanings, defeat scientific clarity by their obscurantism.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

PEOPLE OF THE DREAMTIME: THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

By Douglas Baglin and David R. Moore. Walker-Weatherhill, New York and Tokyo, 1970. Pp. 136, 226 photographs, the majority in colour. Price $12.95

This is a highly and beautifully illustrated book which deals with the past, present and future of the Australian Aborigines. These superb photographs show clearly how different are the Australoids from the Negroids. In many features they come nearer to the European than any other stock. This is why the crosses are more harmonious in type than the Mulattoes.

Nevertheless we do not agree with the authors in suggesting that more mixed marriages is one of the solutions to the racial problem. Crossing only results in genetic segregation in the future, and general instability of type, which can be disastrous where there are clearly inherited differences of ability in certain fields or of physical resistance to environmental conditions. Like most writers today the authors are obsessed, in places, by the modern writer's psychological panacea of racial integration. Some of their own photographs show the voluntary segregation which the Australoids demonstrate at such as race meetings.

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In one sense there is no race problem at all, if Europeans did not stir up a sense of inferiority by their pressures for " integration " which each stock left to itself does not want.

The cave art is well illustrated and again indicates, how different this is from that of Africa.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

INTERMARRIAGE IN IRELAND 1550-1650

By Donald Jackson. Cultural and Educational Productions, 168 Chestnut Street, Nutley, New Jersey 07110, U.S.A. and P.O. Box 862, Montreal 3, P.Q. Canada, 1970. Pp. 84. Price not given.

Donald Jackson sets out to discover the intermarriage between the native Celtic Irish and the later comers, such as the English of the Tudor period. The author uses the most reliable of all methods—the genealogical.

Basic to his investigations are the differences between the Celtic and the Anglo-Norman (which he calls in this context—English) conception of land tenure. In the former primogeniture did not rule and the lands over which the chief ruled (often despotically) were not his own, but of the community (in Scotland of the clan). In Ireland the English Crown (as, where it could, so did the Scottish in Scotland) destroyed this system in favour of the Norman and feudal whereby the chiefs were invested with the lands as a fief. To illustrate his argument the author takes the genealogies of several families as examples.

ESSAYS ON THE CASTE SYSTEM

By Célestin Bouglé. Translated with an introduction by D. F. Pocock. Cambridge University Press, in the European Understanding of India Series, 1971. Pp. 228. Price £5.40 ($17.50).

One of the great troubles presented by the brilliant essayist and philosophical writer, who at the same time has no essential scientific *aperçu*, is the pitfalls into which such a person can fall.

Thus, the writer quotes Risley as saying he could recognise by his trained eye a man's caste from his face, while Nesfield, who also lived long in India, was of a different opinion. He did not believe in the heterogeneity of the Hindus, and said that the Brahmins were neither more fair nor finely made than other Hindus (pp. 102-3). These two opinions are quoted as though that of the one is equal to the other.

In my own case there was a time, while still in India, when I could distinguish a man's caste and also nationality in India at a glance—just as Indians themselves can. It is rare that an intelligent Indian has to ask a man's caste—he knows it. The unscientific nature of Nesfield's statement is due to the fact that it is not adequately defined. In any particular part of India the higher castes (Brahmin and Kshatrija) will be lighter than Buniya, Sudra and outcaste. But, or course, in Southern India an upper caste person may well be darker than a man of the same caste in the north. The scientific evidence, when properly qualified, supports Risley, and there is no substance in Nesfield's statement, nor in Bouglé's clever placing of them together as though Nesfield's remarks destroyed the much more profound anthropological observations of Risley.

One of the things which leads to a lack of understanding is in the use of the term Dravidian, which is employed for all South Indians and the outcastes alike. This is, in our opinion, a misunderstanding of Indian ethnology. We have to envisage a primaeval India inhabited by Australoids, the black " noseless " ones of the jungles of Central India of the Veddas. In the north, in the Indus Valley civilizations, were the White Mediterranean Dravidians. These pushed south and acculturated partly, or wholly, according to place,

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the aborigines. Then came the Nordo-Dinaric Aryan invaders, who overran the Indus Valley civilization, conquered all India, adopted much of Brahimism from the conquered white Dravidians, and settled their Sanskritic culture upon northern India. From them developed the modern caste system, with which was equated that caste system which arose, and developed, among the southern Mediterranean Dravidians of the south. Meanwhile the aboriginal tribes in the jungles, the Australoid " noseless " ones of the Veddas, became mixed with Caucasoid genes (as they are now) and Dravidianised in language. Unless these basic principles of Indian ethnology are properly understood, all the philosophical theorising is useless.

A good example of shallow thinking on these questions is to be seen (p. 105) where the inconsistencies of the ethnology of the caste system in Bengal are exposed, and Topinard is cited as concluding that India is far from being the land dreamed of by anthropologists. But this is entirely a false assumption. Bengal is not India, it is the least typical Indian state. The Aryan settlement was thin in that province. The statistics have to be anlysed not only on a basis of Nordo-Dinaric, Mediterranean, and aboriginal Australoid or Veddah, but also of Mongoloid, and even of the primitive stock which today survives in the Andamanese, and is in my opinion, derived from the same source as the Bushman.

The number of additional factors created means that the apparent inconsistencies must be multiplied many times. But these do not disprove Risley's scientific work. The inadequacy lies in his critics whose knowledge of Indian ethnology is too shallow.

The author, quite rightly, says that at all times there have been misalliances—but what he does not seem to appreciate is that this means, in most cases, the passing of the blood of the higher into lower castes and outcastes. Assortative mating reinforced, as it is by caste endogamy, in the light of this is calculated to protect the caste type of each region.

Indeed, the error of the writer is manifestly clear when we find his writing (p. 106) that " let a concern for purity overrule all others and partition the society at its will: all is vain." The fact that caste has lasted so long with clearly marked types in each region is a witness to the operation of the continuance of genetic segregation along the cleavage lines of regionalism and caste.

It is an interesting book, well worth reading, although obviously not an authoritative guide where racial aspects of the Indian caste system are concerned. The introduction and translation is well done by D.F. Pocock, Reader in Social Anthropology, University of Sussex.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

SINGING FOR POWER: THE SONG MAGIC OF THE PAPAGO INDIANS OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA

By Ruth Murray Underhill. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968 (distributed in the U.K. by Ibeg Ltd., London). Pp. 158. Price £2.75 ($5.95).

Miss Underhill lived among the Papago Indians when their culture had been little changed, and the subject of the book is the songs which they used as part of the magical rites employed to bring the rain down from the clouds to water their plots in the arid country in which they lived. The orginal book was published in 1938.

FOOD IN ANTIQUITY

By Don and Patricia Brothwell. Thames and Hudson, London, 1969. Pp. 248, 67 plates, 45 figures. Price £2.10.

This is one of the first attempts in this field to make a comparative study of the diet of early man and his societies. The conspexus is on a world wide basis. In the course of this they discuss famine, vitamin deficiency, disease and dietary

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disorders. The illustrations are good. Here is a wealth of information, and now that it has been produced, no study of early man can be complete without some reference to his diet, material concerning which will be found in this book written by a trained biologist, anthropologist, archaeologist and his wife. It is a really worth-while study.

CUNA INDIAN ART

By Clyde E. Keeler. Exposition Press, New York, 1969. Pp. 192. Price $15.00.

This is a charming book, full of excellent reproductions of the designs of the Cuna Indians of Panama's San Blas Islands. It is completely authoritative and Dr Keeler has produced a work which illuminates the whole life and art of these people. In view of the erosion of primitive life, which is going on so fast, this presents a valuable record collected before it is too late.

THE FIRST CIVILIZATIONS: The Archaeology of Their Origins

By Glyn Daniel. Thames and Hudson, London, 1968. Pp. 208, 99 illustrations, 16 figures. Price £2.10.

This book deals effectively and adequately, as we would expect from the pen of Professor Glyn Daniel, with the earliest societies of Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus Valley, China, Mexico, Yucatan and Peru.

He concludes that the diffusionist concept is not now suitable to account for parallels in civilizations in various parts of the world. He holds, therefore, to a multilinear explanation for the evolution of civilization.

MAN IN ADAPTATION: The Institutional Framework

Edited by Yehudi A. Cohen. Aldine, Atherton, Chicago, New York, 1971. Pp. 478. Price $9.75.

We have here a collection of essays which seeks to bring together the idea that man must adapt himself if he is to continue to survive.

The biosocial background of the book acts as an introduction to physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics in connection with adaptation; while the cultural aspects form an introduction to cultural anthropology, and the institutional framework of marriage, family, law and so on.

The author takes the view that adaptation in mammals is the result of genetic change but in man it is by means of culture and institutions (p. 4). This, however, cannot be entirely true, otherwise racial strains would not have died out because they were not able to adapt to changing circumstances without genetic changes which they were not fortunate enough to undergo. It is very unlikely that the Eskimo could adapt himself to the competitive life of the 50 degree parallel, or thereabouts, by simply social and cultural adaptation alone. A series of genetic mutations affecting physical type, mental, and emotional attitudes, would surely be necessary, as well as any training and education towards the dynamic technological way of life of people evolved in the temperate zones of the world.

LES BEDIK (Senegal Oriental): Barrieres Culturelles et Heterogeneite Biologique

By Jacques Gomila. Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1971. Pp. 273, 76 tables, 20 figures, eight photographs. Price $13.75.

This is the work of a member of the department of anthropology of the

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University of Montral, for which he received the Paul Broca Prize of the Anthropological Society of Paris in 1969.

It is a comprehensive and multidiscipline study of the Bedik people, who are a group living at a subsistence level on a low massif in the Department of Kedougou, in eastern Senegal. Unlike so many such works today he has given a valuable account of their anthropometrical data, and has not restricted himself to social questions.

The author says " this study is concerned with the biological effects of the limits imposed on human population by their cultures and especially by their particular types of social organisation," (p. 259).

These people are very inbred. Even so, there are differences in some of the data between exogamous and endogamous groups. There is evidence of heterogeneity, as might well be expected in a people at such a low social level. The weaker a group (all other things being equal), the more likely it is to receive inheritances from conquerors in the past.

ILOCANO RICE FARMERS: A Comparative Study of Two Philippine Barrios

By Henry T. Lewis. Published by University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1971. Pp. 209. Price $7.50.

The study deals with a hard-working people in the Philippines, and in particular with change in two barrios in Luzon. The book is of interest to those concerned with the consequences of economic development.

PROGRESS IN PARAPSYCHOLOGY

Edited by J. B. Rhine. The Parapsychology Press Inc., College Station, Durham, North Carolina, 1971. Pp. 313. Price $7.00.

Now that the American Association for the Advancement of Science has recognised parapsychology, this subject will be treated more seriously than in the past.

The essays are the results of the work of various researchers. In the animal experiments designed to test telepathy or clairvoyance it would have been interesting if they had first tested for heredity. For example some people of one line might well have a higher tendency to telepathy than those of another, as one would expect on *a priori* assumptions. In that case it would be interesting to see behaviour in the various lines.

Any investigation of cultural anthropology, as well as of religion, produces beliefs that mind can influence matter. In these papers are some which claim that their investigations substantiate this belief. Some of the evidence appears to be quite impressive.

The fact that males had different results from females in some of the tests (pp. 169-70) indicates that the genetic difference is active in this field as in others. If this genetic difference is statistically apparent so one would expect that of other genetic differences, including those of race. It would be interesting to use experiments carried out in that direction. Mr Lethbridge communicated to me that he had different results when using a pendulum in association with blood samples from different races.

Whatever may be the explanation of the differences obtained in parapsychological results one thing is clear, that there are phenomena which would appear not always to conform to the law of chance—and so it is a field worthy of investigation, as we have not reached the stage where we can say we know all there is to know about man, his brain, and mind.

R. Gayre of Gayre

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POISONS

By F. Bodin and C. F. Cheinisse. Translated from the French by Harold Oldroyd. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1971. Pp. 255. Price £1.75.

This work covers the whole field of poisons, forensic and industrial toxology, poisons of war, types of poisons, contamination and environment. There is a good bibliography and index.

Of technical anthropological interest are such subjects as the poison used on poisoned arrows, ergot or rye (responsible for mass poisoning effects in early times), lead poisoning (to which Roman decline has been attributed), trial by ordeal, and the like.

In discussing radioactive substances the authors draw attention to the fact that they are invading every branch of industry in developed countries (p. 120). It is as a consequence well on the way to heading the list of toxicological changes of the modern world. "This danger . . . bids fair to threaten the whole of mankind, if not every form of life on earth." The authors draw attention to the view that radiation has and still plays an essential part in procuring mutations. The authors suggest that perhaps man would live longer if protected from radioactivity.

We are told that between the end of the Mesozoic period and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution the earth's atmosphere had reached a state of dynamic equilibrium between the oxygen set free by the photo-synthetic activity of plants and the carbon dioxide produced by the respiration of all animals and plants together. This equilibrium we have now upset by burning coal and petrol. This will cause a warming up of the earth's surface with incalculable results if it continues (p. 231).

TOGETHER WITH THE AINU: A VANISHING PEOPLE

By M. Inez Hilger, with the assistance of Chiye Sano and Midori Yamaha. Published by The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1971. Pp. 223, 53 illustrations, one map. Price $9.95.

This book is written by a member of the Order of St Benedict, who is a research associate of the Smithsonian Institution. She is an ethnologist, in the social and not the biological sense, and author of several books already published by this press.

This is an account of the Ainu as they are today. A community formerly isolated is now undergoing considerable change. Furthermore, through much intermarriage with the Japanese the racial type is visibly changing—if one may judge from some of the illustrations. The Ainu appear to adopt Japanese children readily. Since they are brought up as Ainu, a very radical biological change is occurring.

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Journals Received

RACE: A JOURNAL OF RACE AND GROUP RELATIONS;

Published quarterly for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press. Price £1. Vol. XIII, No. 3, January 1972.

POPULATION

Revue Bimestrielle de L'institut National d'Etudes Demographiques, Paris. Price F. 12.00. Vol. 27, No. 1, January-February 1972.

ANTROPOLOGICA

Organ of the Instituto Caribe de Antropologica y Sociologia of the Fundacion La Salle de Ciencias Naturels, Apartado 8150, Caracas 101, Venezuela. No. 28, 1971.

Contains an account by Audrey Butt Colson of the religion of Hallelujah among the Patamona Indians who live in the Potaro and Ireng river areas of the Guinea Highlands.

ETHNOLOGY

Quarterly journal of cultural and social anthropology, published by the University of Pittsburgh, 4200, Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213. Price $5.00 per year. Vol. XI, No. 1, January 1972.

REVISTA STUDIOS POLITICOS

Published quarterly by the Instituto de Estudios Politicos, Plaza de la Marina, Espanola 8, Madrid. Price 100 ptas. No. 180 November-December 1971.

GENUS

Journal of the Italian Committee for the Study of Population Problems and of the Italian Society of Eugenics. Via delle Terme di Diocleziano 10, Rome. Price 3000L ($6). Vol. XXVI, Nos. 3-4, 1970.

PSYCHOLOGIA AFRICANA

Journal of the National Institute for Personnel Research, South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Johannesburg. Price R3.00. Vol. 14, No. 2, March 1972.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Published quarterly by UNESCO, Paris. Price 60p. Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1972.

ABHANDLUNGEN UND BERICHTE DES STAATLICHEN MUSEUMS FUR VOLKERKUNDE DRESDEN

Journal of the Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. Vol. 33, 1971.

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